How we got our Prayer-Book

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HOW WE GOT OUR PRAYER-BOOK. By the Rev. T. W. DRURY, B.D.

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How we got our Prayer-Book

BY

T. W. DRURY, B.D.

PRINCIPAL OF RIDLEY HALL, CAMBRIDGE
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TO

ROBERT SINKER, D.D.

TEACHER AND FRIEND

PREFACE

My object in these pages has been to trace the steps by which our Book of Common Prayer came into its present form, and to mark the various ways in which the history of the nation has impressed itself upon its great Book of Devotion. The facts thus related speak for themselves as to the blessings which the Reformation secured. I trust that they are stated with fairness.

The aim has been to make the book useful as an introduction to more detailed study, and to lead some at least to realise what a treasury of devotion we possess in our English Liturgy. Our Prayer-Book stands as a monument of what human pains guided by Divine Providence can effect.

I have obtained much help from Professor Swete's *Services and Service-Books* (S.P.C.K.), Pro-

fessor Moule's *Our Prayer-Book* (Seeley & Co.), and Bishop Dowden's *Workmanship of the Prayer-Book* (Methuen & Co.). Frequent references have also been made to the Rev. F. Procter's *History of the Book of Common Prayer*.

My best thanks are due to the Rev. Dr. Sinker, Librarian of Trinity College, for allowing me to resume my studies under his care, and both to him and to my fellow-labourer, the Rev. C. L. Carr, M.A., for correcting the proof-sheets.

T. W. D.

CAMBRIDGE,
St. Andrew's Day, 1900.

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How we got our Prayer-Book

CHAPTER I

THE SOURCES OF THE PRAYER-BOOK

THE LATIN SERVICE-BOOKS

English Churchmen ought to be very thankful for the principles by which our Reformers were guided in compiling the Book of Common Prayer. While they expelled from our worship all that savoured of error or tended to superstition, they held steadily by their purpose to break as little as possible with the worship of the past, and to preserve all that was scriptural and helpful in the older forms of devotion.

It is therefore essential, if we are to understand "how we got our Prayer-Book," to trace in some measure the various sources from which it was derived.

Primitive origin of our Services.

Let us first go back to primitive days. St. Luke describes the devotions of the early Christians in Acts ii. 46. "*Day by day continuing stedfastly in the temple, and breaking bread at home,* they did eat their meat with gladness and singleness of heart" (see also v. 42). Their "common prayer" was partly "in the temple," where, as devout Jews, they still attended the daily worship, and partly "at home,"[1] where they joined in that earliest of Christian services, the "breaking of bread."

The latter is clearly the origin of the Christian Eucharist, or Celebration of the Holy Communion. We shall shortly see that our daily Morning and Evening Prayers can be traced by a continuous chain to that primitive attendance at the temple worship which St. Luke also records.

Early Christian testimony.

In a very early writing called the *Didache*, or "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," the Lord's Prayer is directed to be said three times a day, with evident reference to the three

[1] So at least the R.V. renders κατ'οἶκον.

Jewish hours of prayer which St. Luke mentions in the Acts of the Apostles.[1] This was early in the second century at the latest.

Fifty years later Justin Martyr, a Christian from Palestine writing at Rome, describes the celebration of the Lord's Supper, and mentions features which strongly resemble those of our own service. There are lessons from Scripture, a sermon, prayers to which the people respond *Amen*, an offertory for the poor, and, lastly, the feast upon bread and wine with water,—as customary in those days. Portions are also sent by the deacons to those who are absent.[2]

In A.D. 250, Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage in North Africa, tells us that Christians even then used these familiar phrases in their Communion Office, "Lift up your hearts,"—"We lift them up unto the Lord." A century later Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem, quotes the same words, together with all that follows up to "Holy, holy, holy."[3]

[1] Acts ii. 15, "the third hour;" x. 9, "the sixth hour;" iii. 1, "the ninth hour." It is clear that these Jewish hours greatly influenced the devotions of the earliest Christians.

[2] This primitive custom has very little in common with the modern "Reservation." In fact it is not "reservation" but immediate "administration."

[3] Thus the familiar burst of praise (*Sursum Corda*, &c.) which follows the Absolution and "Comfortable words," is one of the most ancient parts of our service.

Eastern and Western families of Liturgies.

After this we find the Christian services expanding into the Eastern and Western families. *We* belong to the Western Church, but we shall trace how, in the providence of God, the services of our Prayer-Book belong wholly neither to the East nor to the West, but see that in them we have devotions gathered from very varied sources, and that they form a national use, distinct and unique. We include both the American and Irish Prayer-Books with our own.

These were united in our Prayer-Book.

The first Christians who reached England probably came from Gaul not later than A.D. 200. At that time, to use the striking words of Tertullian, "regions of Britain unsubdued by the Roman arms had submitted to the cross of Christ." As Gaul had received the Gospel from the East, our early British Church was really of Eastern, not of Roman or Western origin, and her services belonged to the Eastern family. But when Augustine was sent by Gregory from Rome in A.D. 597, he brought

with him the Roman service-books, and the good man was much perplexed by the different forms of worship which he saw as he travelled through Gaul, and which he found in Britain. Augustine consulted Gregory, who gave the excellent advice that he should choose for the English Church whatever services seemed best, no matter what might be their origin.

It is to be deplored that Augustine, with all his earnestness, had not the courage or largeness of mind to act accordingly, but he could not understand how unity in faith was consistent with lack of uniformity in worship, and he failed to conciliate the British Church.

St. Columba and St. Aidan would also use Eastern or Gallican service-books, but subsequent events led to the early Roman Rites being accepted in England, as we find them in the most noted of our Pre-Reformation services, the "*Sarum Use.*" This was drawn up about 1085 by Osmund, Bishop of Sarum (Salisbury), and it may be taken as representing the worship of our forefathers up to the time of the Reformation.

The Sources of our English Services.

We are now in a position to consider more exactly the several services which Cranmer and his helpers employed. These fall naturally into two groups, the one consisting of service-books in use before the Reformation, the other of those forms of devotion to which the age of Reform gave birth. The following table will serve as a guide to our brief study of them:—

A. Pre-Reformation Sources . .	1.	Mediæval English Services, especially the *Sarum Use*.
	2.	Early Eastern and Gallican Services.
B. Reformation Sources	1.	The Compositions of Foreign Reformers.
	2.	The Compositions of English Reformers.

A. (1) *The Use of Sarum.*

The Mediæval English Services. The *Sarum Use* may be taken as representing the Church of England services when Cranmer began that reform of worship which gave to this country a national service-book of her own. At first, as the MSS. of the Archbishop prove, Cranmer's idea was to make comparatively little change, save in the way of simplicity and more regular

reading of Scripture, but he soon came to see that the progress of Reform demanded more radical alterations.

In the service-books of Sarum, then, we have the main stream which was used to fill the new channels of public devotion. Many things were omitted because they were associated in men's minds with error and superstition, others again because they darkened with extravagant ceremony the seemly worship of God. But when we have allowed for all these things, it is abundantly clear that, as the basis of the new services, Cranmer employed much of the framework and substance of the old.

Its Services unsuited for popular use.

Let us try to imagine what the older service-books of the Church of England really were. We are accustomed to our single Book of Common Prayer, and are inclined to rebel at having to add to it a Bible for the lessons, and a Hymn-Book for the hymns. But in the *Sarum Use* at least four or five separate volumes contain the services which represent the neat pocket volume now used by most people as their "Prayer-Book." Moreover, this takes no account of

various other books which were necessary for the Lessons, Anthems, and Hymns, which were not given in full in the *Breviary* or *Missal*.

And here we come upon one great result of the Reformation, namely, *the popularising of the services*. The Church Books which preceded the reign of Edward VI. were books for the Priest; it was almost impossible for a layman to possess them, and he had to be content with his English *Primer*[1] or with some other book of private devotion. But the Prayer-Book is the book of the people quite as much as of the Priest. In fact it recognises the priesthood of the laity, and enables every worshipper to join in the great public offering of prayer and praise. Besides this, "its compactness has made it possible to put a complete copy of the services of the Church into the hands of her youngest and poorest member. . . . Something has doubtless been sacrificed to brevity, but the result has been to secure for the Church of England the most popular service-book in Christendom."[2]

[1] The *Primer* was a book of devotions in *English* for the use of the people. It contained the Creed and Lord's Prayer, certain Psalms, and some of the daily services.

[2] *Church Services and Service-Books*, by Professor Swete, pp. 19, 20.

Four Chief Service-Books of Sarum Use.

The following table will show at a glance what parts of our Prayer-Book correspond to the four chief service-books of the *Sarum Use*.

Old Service-Books.	*Book of Common Prayer.*
The *Breviary*[1] . .	Morning and Evening Prayer, Litany (also found in the *Processional*), and Psalter.
The *Missal* . . .	The Office of Holy Communion, with Collects, Epistles and Gospels.
The *Manual*[2] . .	The Occasional Offices, Holy Baptism, Matrimony, Burial, &c.
The *Pontifical* . .	The Confirmation Office, and The Ordinal.

To these we may add the *Pie*, a book of directions for the Priest as to the order of any service, and corresponding in a measure to our Calendar and other Tables. If we may judge from the language used by Cranmer of the *Pie*, it must have been a welcome relief to be delivered from it. He complains in his Preface ("Concerning the Service of the Church") of "the number and hardness of the rules called

[1] This came to be called in Norman times the *Portifory*, or book which the Priest *carried* with him, a name which became corrupted into *Portuary* and other similar forms.

[2] Also called the *Ritual* on the Continent.

the *Pie*," adding that "many times there was more business to find out what should be read, than to read it when it was found out."

We may now look more closely into each of these four books, so far as they furnished the materials for our Prayer-Book.

The Breviary.

It is through the Breviary that we must trace the history of our Daily Morning and Evening Prayer. It contained the daily offices of the mediæval Church, or as they were called the *Canonical Hours*, and out of these Cranmer selected the chief materials for our present daily prayers.

A very interesting fact arises out of the names given to these "Canonical Hours." They are *Mattins*[1] (including *Nocturns*), *Lauds*, and *Prime* in the early morning; *Tierce*, *Sext*, and *Nones* at 9 A.M., noon, and 3 P.M.; *Vespers* and *Compline* in the evening. Thus both the *names and*

[1] The names are full of interest, and speak for themselves. *Mattins* (matutinus) is the *morning* service; *Nocturns* (nocturnus) tells how early the worship began—it was a *night* service; *Lauds* (laus) suggests the thought of *praise*, the chief characteristic of all the hours; in *Prime* (primus) the first hour of day was dedicated to God. *Vespers* (vesperus) was the *evening* service; *Compline* (completorium, compleo) suggested that the day should close or be made *complete* with prayer.

times of the three midday services correspond to the Jewish hours of prayer which, as St. Luke tells us, the earliest Christians observed.

The continuity of these hours is made still clearer by Tertullian (A.D. 200), who speaks of the *third, sixth,* and *ninth* hours as hours of special mark and of Apostolic order (*horas insigniores, apostolicas*). Cyprian (A.D. 250) and other early writers do the same, so that we are able to trace the origin of our Morning and Evening Prayer through the Breviary right up to the Temple devotions of the primitive Church in Jerusalem.

It is remarkable that the elaborate temple offerings are thus in a measure the fountain-head of our daily sacrifice of prayer and praise, while the simpler worship of the earliest Christian homes, based on the Passover Feast, is in direct line with our Service of Holy Communion. We are not to argue from this that the latter is not to be a service of seemly order, and of great though quiet dignity; but we may be warned against supposing that in our Morning and Evening worship, we offer a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving inferior in value to that which we offer at the Eucharist.

If you look at a Breviary you will be very much puzzled to know where you are, even

though you may be a Latin scholar. As Cranmer says in his Preface, "to turn the Book only" was a "hard and intricate matter." But you will be able to see that the backbone of all the daily services was the *Psalter*, together with prayers, hymns, and short lessons both from Scripture and from the Lives of the Saints. Cranmer's work was to simplify these services, to purify them from error, and to reduce them by omission and rearrangement to two simple Morning and Evening services, which were at first called "Mattins" and "Evensong," names which still remain in the Calendar of our Prayer-Book, though the services themselves bear the more modern titles.

Dr. Moule remarks on the *Breviary*: "This word means 'the abridgment.' At first sight this seems strange, for the Breviary was a ponderous book. But it got its name from the fact that it was one volume where there had been several before, so that the Priest found what he was to read in a comparatively *compact* space."[1] Mr. Procter tells us that "the book containing this course (*i.e.* of 'Hours') began to be called the *Breviary* towards the end of the

[1] *Our Prayer-Book*, pp. 51, 52.

eleventh century, when the ancient offices were arranged and shortened by the authority of Pope Gregory VII.[1] (1073–1086)."

A considerable part of these services is in the words of Scripture itself, and many of the changes necessary were those of simplification. But we must not forget that the service was wholly in Latin, a tongue not "understanded of the people," and that the framework and times of service were such as to suit a body of monks and priests, but to be practically useless for the common people.

One great blot on these services was the frequent Invocation of Saints, and the tendency to rest upon their intercession along with the simple mercy of God. We add several passages to prove this point.

The *Ave Maria* was frequently said along with the *Pater Noster*. This form is sometimes defended by English Churchmen as a helpful form of devotion: we leave our readers to judge for themselves. "Hail, Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with thee; blessed art thou among women: and blessed is the fruit of thy womb, Jesus. *Holy Mary, Mother of God, pray for us sinners now, and in the hour of death. Amen.*"

---

[1] *History of the Book of Common Prayer* (1892), p. 13.

The words in italics can never be reconciled with the positive condemnation of the "Invocation of Saints" in Article XXII. The *Ave* was said four or five times in the daily offices of the *Breviary*.

Again in the service of Lauds we have the "Memorial of St. Mary," where the Collect thus closes: "Grant . . . that we who believe her to be truly the Mother of God, may be aided by her intercessions before Thee." And in the Confession at *Prime* and *Compline* this painful passage occurs: "I confess to God, to blessed Mary, to all saints, &c. . . . I pray holy Mary and all the saints of God and you to pray for me." There was also a large element of pure legend and superstition in the Lessons for Saints' Days.

The Missal.

If we are to look to the *Breviary* for the origin of our daily prayers, it is in the Missal that we trace the framework of our Communion Office, especially as it stood in the first Prayer-Book of 1549.

The central portion of the *Missal*, or Book of the Mass, was "*The Canon*," or prayer of Consecration, which was then regarded as the "supreme action" around which all the rest of the service revolved. This was only natural, for all were encouraged to be present so as to

worship at the Sacrifice of the Mass, which is the essence of the old *Canon*, and not with a view to actual Communion, which is the fulfilment of our Lord's Command.

The Canon, which our Reformers thought it necessary to alter and break up, has much in it that is interesting and scriptural. But it is associated throughout with a doctrine of Sacrifice which obscures the main purpose of the service, and almost abolishes the plain and simple institution of Christ Himself. It is undeniable that in practice the "eating" and "drinking" in remembrance of Christ became a mere accident which might or might not take place (except by the Priest), instead of being the great and "supreme action" of all.

Luther, with characteristic, and almost unseemly violence, speaks of "the abominable canon," and says, "from this point almost everything stinks of oblation." Our readers will find an English version in Mr. Burbidge's *Liturgies and Offices of the Church*, pp. 71 and 98. The elements are *again and again* offered as a material oblation to God, both before and after Consecration. We give some examples. "We humbly pray and beseech Thee to accept and bless these gifts, these holy and undefiled sacrifices which first of all we offer to Thee for Thy holy Catholic Church." Again (after consecration), "Wherefore

also we Thy servants . . . do offer . . . of Thine own gifts . . . a pure ✠ victim, a holy ✠ victim, an undefiled ✠ victim,[1] " &c.

The removal of this idea of a material oblation to God of the Consecrated Elements was the great change made in the Canon of the *Missal*, and along with it disappeared all the elaborate and bewildering ceremonial which was the natural accompaniment of such an estimate of Holy Communion. Yet in other respects, as in the case of the *Breviary*, our Reformers thankfully employed much that they found in the Missal as being either drawn direct from Scripture, or having come down to us from the purer ages of Christianity.

The Manual.

Having thus described the general character of the two great Sarum[2] service-books, we need say but little of the others, of which a similar use was made by our Compilers.

The *Manual* contained the occasional offices required by the Priest, and in our Prayer-Book

[1] Lat. *Hostia.* Hence the consecrated bread came to be called the " Host."

[2] We have taken the *Sarum Use* as a fair representative of all the old English *Uses.* See p. 6.

the following offices are more or less based upon it:—

Holy Baptism.
Matrimony.
Visitation of the Sick.
Burial of the Dead.
Churching of Women.

In each case the amount of variation made depended on the character of the old office. For instance, a great number of changes were made in the Burial Service, so as to purge it entirely from all idea of Purgatory, and remove all prayers for the departed. But in the Marriage Service no such glaring need of change existed, and the old service was more closely followed.

If we examine the structure of these old and new services, we shall find that they run on the same lines. The following order is common to all except the Administration of Holy Baptism:—

Psalms.
Lesser Litany.
Lord's Prayer.
Versicles (short petitions).
Collects.

It is indeed the normal order of a Western service, and must be perfectly familiar to our readers. It is the framework borrowed from the *Sarum Use.*

The Pontifical.

The *Pontifical* contained the services which only a Bishop could perform, and contained the Confirmation and Ordination Offices.

In the next chapter we shall pass from these Western Offices to those of the Eastern Church.

CHAPTER II

THE SOURCES OF THE PRAYER-BOOK (*continued*)

EASTERN AND GALLICAN SERVICE-BOOKS— REFORMATION SOURCES

A. (2) *Eastern and Gallican Sources.*

THE Service-Books of the Eastern Church have influenced us in two ways. On the one hand, there are some things which have come to us from the Early Churches of the East through the Sarum Use. Thus the general structure of the Communion Office can be traced through the *Missal* back to earlier Greek sources. When we say the *Gloria in Excelsis*[1] we are using a *Greek hymn*, which was sung at dawn by Christians in the fourth century, but which has come to us through the devotional channels of the Latin Church. But the most characteristic instance of a very early tradition coming

[1] "Glory be to God on high, &c." It is called in the *Apostolic Constitutions* "a morning prayer." The Eastern Church has never used it at Communion.

to us through Western agency is that of the great sequence of praise which now follows the Comfortable Words. That trumpet-note *Sursum Corda* ("Lift up your hearts"), with the following *Tersanctus*, has roused the Church to earnest devotion from the days of Cyprian and Cyril,[1] and is as precious an heritage to Christians of the East as to those of the West. We know of no Communion Office without it.

On the other hand, it is certain that Cranmer made an original study of the Eastern service-books, and used them in compiling our Prayer-Book. The influence of the Mozarabic Rite is also beyond doubt, though some think that this influence came indirectly through a Lutheran channel.

A Spanish Prayer-Book.

The *Mozarabic* services represent that branch of the Liturgy of Gaul which was used in Spain. They are in fact the old national use of Spain, and belong, as our earlier British services did, to the Gallican family. Now it is beyond doubt that in some way or other Cranmer used this Spanish or Mozarabic Rite

[1] See p. 3.

in 1549. It is an admirable proof of the diligent and original research which marked the birth of our English Prayer-Book.

Let us take our Prayer-Books and see for ourselves how the Reformers enriched what they had from the Latin services by means of these other Pre-Reformation sources.

(i) *Traces of Eastern Influence.*

Perhaps the most notable addition of purely Eastern origin is the so-called *Prayer of St. Chrysostom*. You will not find it in the *Breviary* or *Missal;* Cranmer took it direct from the old Liturgies, or Communion Service, which bear the name of St. Chrysostom and St. Basil.[1] That priceless insertion is a lasting monument of Cranmer's research, being, as it were, a stone brought by him direct from an Eastern quarry.

The Doxology to the Lord's Prayer.

We add here an instance of similar inquiries into more primitive use from the revision of 1662. The Doxology at the end of the Lord's Prayer ("For

[1] "We have positive evidence that Cranmer, at least as early as 1544, had been studying the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom."—Bishop Dowden, *Workmanship of the Prayer-Book*, p. 47. It may be well to note that in the Greek Church *a "Liturgy" means a "Communion Service,"* not a general Prayer-Book like our own.

Thine is the kingdom," &c.) was never recited in the West until the seventeenth century. Those who drew up the ill-fated Scotch Prayer-Book of 1637, like Cranmer, consulted Eastern sources, and found there this Doxology, which is given in many MSS. of St. Matthew's Gospel, but which is probably a very old Liturgical response, and they added it in certain places to the Lord's Prayer. Our revisers in 1662 followed this lead, and in doing so introduced an Eastern use into the Western Church. We may add that Cranmer, where he directed the Lord's Prayer to be said *by Priest and People in a loud voice*, was reverting to Eastern custom.

The "Invocation" at Holy Communion.

One other instance of Cranmer's original inquiry must be added, though there is no trace of it in our present Prayer-Book. In all Eastern Liturgies there is the express *Invocation of the Holy Spirit*[1] to bless the Bread and Wine to sacred service. No purely Western service had contained it before the days of Cranmer. But he introduced this into his first Communion Office of 1549, just as he brought the "Prayer of St. Chrysostom" into his Litany of 1544. It disappeared in the Second Prayer-Book for reasons we shall shortly notice.

[1] Generally called the *Epiclesis* from its Greek form.

(ii) *Traces of Gallican or Mozarabic Influence.*

There are two distinct traces of *Mozarabic* influence.[1] The peculiar form of the Words of Institution in our Prayer of Consecration comes from that source. So do those short pregnant petitions which precede the Consecration Prayer in our Baptismal Offices, commencing—"O merciful God, grant that the old Adam in this child may be so buried, that the new man may be raised up in him."

B. *Reformation Sources of the Prayer-Book.*

(i) *Foreign Reformers.*

We have now briefly noticed the Pre-Reformation sources of our Prayer-Book. We next turn to those sources which themselves belong to the age of the Reformation. They are as follows:—

1. Compositions of Foreign Reformers.
2. Compositions of English Reformers.

1. *Compositions of Foreign Reformers.* Here again we owe much to the generous wisdom of Cranmer. He welcomed suggestions not only

[1] For an account of this service-book, as restored by Cardinal Ximenes in 1500, see Bishop Dowden's *Workmanship of the Prayer-Book*, pp. 53–56.

from the Lutheran work which we know as Hermann's *Consultation*, but also from the revised Roman Breviary of a Spanish Cardinal named Quignon, and from the Calvinistic service-books of two foreign refugees, Pollanus and A'Lasko.

Cardinal Quignon's Breviary.

Let us take the Roman work first. Quignon was of noble Spanish family, and had been brought up in the household of Cardinal Ximenes, the restorer (as we saw) of the *Mozarabic* Rites at Toledo. He rose to high favour both with Pope and Emperor, and his revised Breviary was undertaken at the direct command of Pope Clement VII.

The great feature in this work was the return to more continuous reading of Scripture. Quignon wished to restore God's Word to its proper place in worship. In the Roman services just a taste of each book was taken, and even that was made subservient to all manner of anthems and responses.

Quignon's *Breviary* was published at Rome in 1535, and some recently discovered MSS. of Cranmer show that his first idea was to

publish a reformed Latin *Breviary* on Quignon's lines. Happily he soon conceived the far wiser plan of an English Book of Common Prayer.

There is a distinct family likeness between two parts of our Prayer-Book and this Roman attempt at reform. After "The Preface," which was written in 1662, stands a chapter "Concerning the Service of the Church." That was Cranmer's original Preface in his First Prayer-Book, and it is evidently based in part on the Preface of the Spanish Cardinal, especially with regard to the reading of Scripture.

Again, the position of the Confession and Absolution at the very commencement of Morning and Evening Prayer corresponds to a change made by Quignon. In his *Breviary* he removed the Confession and Absolution from the later services of *Prime* and *Compline*, and placed them *before* Mattins and Vespers.

Archbishop Hermann's "Consultation."

We now pass to the Lutheran service-book which Cranmer used so freely. Our Prayer-Book owes much to foreign influence, but to no source does it owe more than to Hermann's *Con-*

sultation. In the Litany, Communion and Baptismal Offices, and in Confirmation, we owe much to Cranmer's use of this Lutheran service.

Hermann was Archbishop of Cologne, and like his brother Archbishop at Lambeth, died under the disfavour of Rome. His great work was to intrust to Bucer and Melanchthon the task of compiling a German Liturgy. It was published in German, Latin, and English, the latter version appearing in 1547, two years before the First Prayer-Book. Its fuller title was "A simple and pious Consultation of us Hermann . . . by what means a Christian reformation . . . may be begun."

Amongst much that we owe to this source, our readers must be content for the present with one instance, namely, the addition of the *Comfortable Words* to our Communion Office. That alone will suffice to make us thankful that such an influence was allowed to play its part in framing our services.

Martin Bucer and Peter Martyr.

It is remarkable that Martin Bucer, who with Philip Melanchthon drew up this service-book, should himself have become an exile to Eng-

land, and have been made Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, where again he exerted between 1549 and 1551 a very important influence on the framers of the Second Prayer-Book.

The following account, from the pen of Bishop Dowden, will complete the story of Martin Bucer. "The publication of the *Interim*, which he could not subscribe, made him willing to accept Cranmer's offer of security in England. His reputation stood high in the learned world; and when Edward VI. nominated him Regius Professor of Divinity, the University of Cambridge received him with applause. The climate told upon his health, and in February 1551 he died. His funeral at Great St. Mary's was attended by the whole University, and by a vast concourse of the students and townspeople. Among the funeral sermons delivered in his praise was one by Matthew Parker, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. On the accession of Mary the enemies of the reformed faith vented their futile spite by exhuming his body and burning it at the stake. What were supposed to be his ashes were again given honourable burial on Elizabeth's coming to the throne."[1]

The high esteem in which some foreign divines were then held by the ruling party in England is further illustrated by the fact that Peter Martyr, another refugee, held the Regius Chair of Divinity at Oxford.

[1] *Workmanship of the Prayer-Book*, pp. 43, 44.

Valerandus Pollanus and John A'Lasko.

One other foreign source remains. It is that through which the Calvinistic Reformers influenced our Prayer-Book. Again we trace the result of England's ever-ready welcome to the refugee. Valerandus Pollanus fled with his flock from Strasburg on the publication of the *Interim* (1548). They were mainly worsted-weavers, and were allowed both to carry on their old trade and to enjoy their peculiar form of worship at Glastonbury.

John A'Lasko was a Pole, and he too found shelter in England from the pressure of the *Interim*. He was a man of noble birth and of high character, who was Cranmer's guest for some months at Lambeth, and from whose residence there the advanced reformers hoped great things. Like Pollanus, he was allowed to minister to a foreign congregation at Austin Friars in London.

Both these men were followers of Calvin, and published service-books on the lines of his service. We owe to Pollanus the introduction of the Ten Commandments into our Communion Service, and the phrase of our last *Kyrie*, "write

all these Thy laws in our hearts." It is the earliest instance of the use of the Decalogue in public worship, and its fitness as a means of self-examination before coming to the Lord's Table needs no proof.

It is also possible that the position of our Confession and Absolution before Morning and Evening Prayer, and some of the phrases in them, may in part be traced to these sources.[1]

(ii) *Compositions of English Reformers.*

We pass, lastly, to the Compositions of English Divines. Space forbids us to do more than name some few of the more special ways in which our services were thus enriched.

It is impossible to measure fully our debt to Cranmer himself. His hand was on the work of the first two Prayer-Books throughout, but we have few hints as to what portions of those books are to be assigned to him. The Exhortations are almost wholly the work of English Churchmen, and are a marked characteristic of our Prayer-Book. They tell us that one aim kept ever in view was "reason-

[1] See Procter, *History of Book of Common Prayer*, pp. 48–52.

able service." *Head* as well as *heart* must be engaged in acceptable worship, for in true devotion we must "love the Lord our God with *all our mind*."

We owe our Collects mainly to the Latin *Missal*, and some of them are found in the old service-books of Popes Gelasius (490) and Gregory I. (590). But not a few are the work of Englishmen, and we could ill spare those for the first and second Sundays in Advent, or the Quinquagesima Collect on Charity, which were added in 1549; or again those for the third Sunday in Advent, the last Sunday after Epiphany, and Easter Even, which were composed at the final revision in 1662.[1]

The "Prayer for Parliament" comes from the pen of Archbishop Laud, that for "All Sorts and Conditions of men" from Bishop Gunning, while the noble utterance of our "General Thanksgiving" is the work of the

[1] The above-named Collects commence as follows: From 1549, "Almighty God, give us grace that we may cast away the works of darkness;" "Blessed Lord, who hast caused all holy Scriptures;" "O Lord, who hast taught us that all our doings without charity are nothing worth." From 1662, "O Lord Jesu Christ, who at Thy first coming;" "O God, whose blessed son was manifested;" "Grant, O Lord that as we are baptized into the death of thy blessed Son."

only Puritan who accepted a Bishopric—Bishop Reynolds of Norwich.

We have dealt at some length with the variety of sources from which Cranmer drew. It is absurd to think that we can arrive at any true solution to our problem without such a study. One-sided conclusions can only do harm. Let us not be afraid to search fairly the very varied quarries from which the stones were taken of which our services are built. We may be sure that our Prayer-Book owes much of its stability and its power to express the devotions of differing ages and peoples to the Catholic mind of Cranmer.

Cranmer thus followed the advice of Gregory.

And thus it is on Cranmer and his helpers that the mantle of Gregory the Great has truly fallen. Whether the story of the English youths in the slave market of Rome be true or false, Gregory desired himself to be a missionary to England, and his advice to Augustine, whom he sent in his stead, was that he should choose from any forms wherever found whatever might best suit the circumstances of the

English people. That was what Augustine failed to do. It was reserved for Cranmer to carry out the wise counsel of Gregory, and to gather from the most diverse ages and minds the material wherewith to build up the National Use of England. In such a work, as Gregory wrote to Augustine, "*things are not to be esteemed for the places where they are found, but places for the sake of things.*" [1]

[1] Bede, *Eccles. Hist.* i. 27.

CHAPTER III

THE FIVE ENGLISH PRAYER-BOOKS

PREPARATIONS FOR THE CHANGE

We have now visited and looked round the four main quarries from which the stones were hewn. We next proceed to the actual building, and mark how they were gradually collected and built into our present Prayer-Book.

We shall watch the process while one hundred and eighteen years roll by, for so long was this temple of devotion in building. The excellent Richard Baxter, it is said, produced a new Directory of Worship in "little more than a fortnight"; we may be thankful that God's providence worked more slowly and surely in building up our Prayer-Book.

The Five Revisions.

First notice the table of dates which we now proceed to give. They are the cardinal dates of Prayer-Book history, and should be

carefully studied and remembered by those who would readily follow the story now to be told.

Chief Dates in the History of the Prayer-Book.

1543. A chapter read *in English* after the Te Deum and Magnificat.

1544. First English Litany *for public worship*.

1547. The Epistle and Gospel read *in English* at the Mass.

1548. "The Order of the Communion" restoring the Cup to the Laity.

1549. First Prayer-Book of Edward VI.

1550. Ordinal in English.

1552. Second Prayer-Book of Edward VI.

1559. Prayer-Book of Elizabeth.

1604. { Hampton Court Conference. **Prayer-Book of James I.**

1637. Scotch Prayer-Book.

1645. Book of Common Prayer suppressed by Parliament.

1661. Savoy Conference.

1662. Prayer-Book of Charles II. Last revision.

It will be seen that there have been *five* editions of the English Prayer-Book, dated 1549, 1552, 1559, 1604, and 1662 in the above Table. Let us take first a bird's-eye view of these five books, so as to note their relative characteristics. You would expect that in the stirring times of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries each successive revision

would bear marks of current conflict. And so it is; each Prayer-Book has a character of its own.

1549.

This year marks the first great step towards Liturgical revision. Hence the First Prayer-Book marks an earlier stage of Reform than the subsequent ones, and contains various matters which were afterwards left out. Dr. Moule says, "It hardly satisfied any one, admirable as it was in many respects. It was too much for the Romanists, and too little for the Protestants."[1]

1552.

The tide of reform was now at its height. Influential foreign Reformers were residing in England; and Bishop Gardiner had put a Roman meaning on certain things in the First Prayer-Book. These things led to greater change. The Second Book accordingly registers the extreme high-water mark of revolt from Rome.

1559.

In restoring the Prayer-Book after the reign of Mary, Elizabeth chose the second or more

[1] *Our Prayer-Book*, p. 18.

reformed Prayer-Book of Edward VI.; but she strove to conciliate the more conservative minds by certain modifications. Her policy was one of conciliation, and her Prayer-Book was marked by the spirit of comprehension.

1604.

James the First, who loved to dabble in Theology, held a Conference between the Episcopal and Puritan divines at Hampton Court. Not much came of it, but a few changes were made, some of them suggested by the Puritans, which certainly enriched our Prayer-Book.

So few, however, were these changes (or "Explanations" as they were called), that no Act of Uniformity was necessary, and the Prayer-Book of James the First is practically that of Elizabeth; that is to say, a modified form of the Prayer-Book of 1552.

1662.

Our Prayer-Book now assumed its final form. The time was one of extreme tension on religious and political subjects, and the marks of both are plainly visible. Charles II. had allowed

the Savoy Conference to be held between Episcopalians and Puritans, though, unlike his grandfather in 1604, he had not felt drawn to preside over it. The Conference had ended in failure, and only by God's watchful providence was our Prayer-Book saved from changes which might have rent English Protestants far more seriously than was actually the case. This, as we shall see, is not a mere matter of conjecture.

Many changes were made, but few of cardinal importance. On the whole they were marked by a desire to restore whatever of earlier use was consistent with loyalty to Reform and with the strongly Protestant temper of the times. They left us the Second Prayer-Book of Edward, modified and enriched by the divines of Elizabeth's, James', and Charles the Second's reign.

If our readers desire to understand the story of our Prayer-Book, they must watch the successive changes we are now to trace as they move along some such lines as these. By all means modify them, but have some such general plan before you as you study the details.

Preparations for the Change.

But, first, we must look back at the Table of Dates,[1] and notice four which lead up to 1549. They remind us of an important fact, namely, that the English Prayer-Book was the climax of a great movement that had been working slowly in the hearts of Englishmen.[2] In other words, the Reformation was the result of forces long at work, and these had already been making themselves felt.

(i) *The English Bible read in Public Services,* 1543 *and* 1547.

From the days of Wyclif, the first man who gave the whole Bible in English to this land, the desire for more light had been silently growing. Tindale, Coverdale, Matthews, and Cranmer had laboured to restore an open Bible to England, and from 1525 to 1539 various versions had been printed.

[1] See p. 34.

[2] I have endeavoured to illustrate the gradual approach of the Reformation in a small pamphlet published by the Religious Tract Society, entitled "The Reformation in England, its Sources, Progress, and Results." A table tracing the steps of immediate preparation for Reform is given there on p. 19.

Some of us have seen the curious "chained Bibles" which are occasionally to be found in old churches; they are striking relics of what was being done before the reign of Edward VI. for the enlightenment of England. The first "chained Bible" was set up in 1536. But in 1543 the *English Bible* made its way for the first time *into public worship*, a chapter being read after the Te Deum and Magnificat at the Latin mattins and vespers. It must have been still more startling to hear, in 1547, the Epistle and Gospel read in plain English, the "vulgar tongue" of the people, at the Latin Mass. Such were the small but significant incidents which, like driftwood on the tideway, show the direction in which the current was then setting. The *Bible in English* had established itself in the very stronghold of Romanism, the Latin Mass.

(ii) *Public Prayers in English. The Litany of* 1544.

The two dates 1544 and 1548 mark the earliest publication of any *English prayers for public use.* In 1544 Cranmer drew up what is practically our present Litany, and it is "a monument of the great Archbishop's powers as

a translator and reviser of ancient liturgical forms."[1]

Litanies had been connected from very early times with Processional prayers, so much so that "a Litany" and "a Procession" had come to mean the same thing. These were sometimes conducted with great pomp and accompanied by lights and incense, the relics of Saints being carried on special occasions. In late mediæval Litanies the invocation of Saints almost hid from view the invocation of the Trinity. But in Cranmer's first Litany of 1544 very few petitions to the Saints remained, and in 1549 they disappeared altogether. Liturgical Processions also, having become associated with abuses, were forbidden by royal command in 1547. And so our own simple and beautiful Litany is the sole survivor of a mass of varied ceremonial and devotion which made up a service-book called the *Processional*.

The three *Rogation Days* (*i.e.* the Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, before Ascension Day) are historically connected with the origin of Litanies, for in the year 470 Litanies were appointed by Mamertus, Bishop of Vienne in Southern Gaul, on account of

[1] Bishop Dowden, *Workmanship of the Prayer-Book*, p. 189.

serious destruction wrought by volcanic eruptions. The Rogation Days thus came to be associated with the prayers for good weather, and were marked by special processions and special Litanies. It is probable that we have here the origin of that "beating the bounds" of the parishes which is still observed in some places—*e.g.* in the City of London, where one boundary has to be "beaten" through St. Paul's Cathedral! The old Saxon name for Rogation Days was "gang-days," *i.e.* Procession-days.

"*The Order of the Communion*," 1548.

The year 1548 marks a still greater movement towards reform. An English service-book was then published,—a small pamphlet of but few pages in size,—restoring *Communion in both kinds*, and giving to the people that short *service of preparation* which still forms one of the most welcome features of our Communion Office. Our present *Invitation, Confession, Absolution*, and *Comfortable Words*, with the beautiful *Prayer of Humble Access* which immediately precedes the Consecration, come to us from this "*Order of the Communion*," published in 1548.

Just picture to yourselves what this change meant. Previously those who did occasionally communicate had received the Bread only, for

the Cup, the visible token of the Saviour's "precious blood shedding," had for many years been withheld. Now all alike were invited to fulfil that plainest of all commands, "Drink *ye all* of this."

Again, how strangely welcome it must have been, *in the midst of the Latin Mass*, to hear those touching words, "Ye that do truly and earnestly repent," &c., to be invited to join in the words of our Confession, and to listen to the voice of Absolution based on the "Comfortable Words" of Scripture,—*and all this in the loved mother tongue of England.*

CHAPTER IV

THE FIRST PRAYER-BOOK OF EDWARD VI., 1549

Such were the changes of 1544 and 1548. They gave us our English Litany, as well as the most important contribution to our Communion Office which dates from the Reformation age. The use of the *English Bible* in public worship was the first step in liturgical reform. The second was the use of *English prayers*. These two things, together with restored Communion in both kinds, prepared the way for the complete English Prayer-Book.

We now come to the first of our five great dates, namely 1549, the second year of Edward the Sixth, the birth-year of the "Book of Common Prayer." The actual birthday was Whitsunday, 1549, a day ever to be marked by thanksgiving in the hearts of English Churchmen.

Cranmer's Preface. Aims of the Reformers.

The best guide to the principles which aided Cranmer in compiling the first Prayer-Book is his own Preface, which we find in the two chapters now called "Concerning the Service of the Church," and "Of Ceremonies." These reflect exactly the temper of the reformers, the aims set in view, and the principles on which they were carried out.

Preservation.

(I.) One great aim was to *Preserve* whatever was Scriptural and edifying in the older service-books. This principle is thus expressed, "Where the old may be well used, there they cannot reasonably reprove the old only for their age, without bewraying of their own folly." We owe to this the preservation of many of the most beautiful parts of our service.

Revival of the primitive use of Scripture.

(II.) The second great aim was to *simplify* the services, with the special intent of making the reading of Holy Scripture more complete and more continuous. We are told that the

"ancient Fathers" laid great stress on the "often reading and meditation in God's Word." It is pointed out that "this godly and decent order" had been "altered, broken, and neglected by planting in uncertain stories and legends, with multitude of responds, verses, vain repetitions," &c. Further on we read, "For this cause be cut off Anthems, Responds, Invitatories, and such like things as did break the continual course of the reading of the Scriptures."

Again, with reference to the "hardness of the Rules called the *Pie*," it is stated that new rules have been drawn up "which as they are few in number, so they are plain and easy to be understood."[1]

In the chapter "On Ceremonies" the same purpose appears. Even St. Augustine (A.D. 400) had complained of the multitude of ceremonies in his day, that "the estate of Christian people was in worse case in that matter than were the Jews." Our Reformers confess, with almost a groan, that "the burden of them was intolerable."[2]

[1] *Concerning the Service of the Church*, §§ 2 and 4. See p. 9.

[2] *On Ceremonies*, § 4.

Purification.

(III.) Another aim was to *purify* our worship from error. "Many things, whereof some are untrue, some uncertain, some vain and superstitious," were omitted. A mass of ceremonies, "so great, and many of them so dark, that they did more confound and darken, than declare and set forth Christ's benefits to us," was omitted, and only such ceremonies were retained as were "apt to stir the dull mind of man to the remembrance of his duty to God." [1]

Churchmen should study these chapters of our Preface. They are specimens of vigorous English, and they tell us what Cranmer and his fellow-compilers really meant. It is in some quarters contended that ceremonies not expressly forbidden are still allowed. How many ceremonies, we wonder, are *expressly forbidden?* Yet a "multitude" were "abolished," according to the Prayer-Book itself. The facts are plain. We have here Cranmer's written word that there was a "great excess," and that one object of the Book of Common Prayer was

[1] *Of Ceremonies*, § 4.

not to make them optional, but to "abolish" them.

Our brief study of the *Breviary*, *Missal*, and *Manual* has already shown us how the Invocation of Saints, the Sacrifice of the Mass, and all approach to a belief in Purgatory, were among the errors from which our services have been purified.

"The Vulgar Tongue."

(IV.) A fourth aim was the substitution of the English for Latin. Henceforth all is to be "in such a *Language* and Order as is most plain for the understanding both of the Readers and Hearers." All is to be said and sung in English, "to the end that the congregation may be edified."[1]

It must be remembered that prayers in Latin were not always the hindrance to personal devotion that they were in the sixteenth century. The original language of Christianity in Rome was Greek, as we see from St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, and it is probable that the earliest Roman service-books were in Greek. Latin was at first adopted because it

[1] *Concerning the Service of the Church*, § 7.

was the spoken language of the West; and Jerome's *Vulgate* bears that name because it was the *Editio Vulgata*, the Bible of the common people.

As time went on, and the newly-formed nations of Europe came to speak their own diverse languages, Latin was forgotten, and became only the tongue of the learned. But the Church of Rome, desirous of increasing the power of the clergy, retained Latin as the sacred language in which all public worship was to be conducted. This was formally ordered by Pope Vitalian about A.D. 657.

This idea of a sacred language in which to approach the Deity is not without parallel. Doubtless it partly arose from the fear of losing something essential in a holy mystery by translation, as the honest opinion of men like Cranmer and Ridley at one time proved. Dr. Moule gives the following interesting illustrations:—"In Russia the public worship is conducted not in modern Russian but in Old Slavonic. Even the Buddhist worship in China is performed by the richly-robed priests not in Chinese, but in Sanscrit,—an Indian language, never actually used even in India now." (*Our Prayer-Book*, p. 10.) The Copts in Egypt also perform their Liturgy in the old Coptic, not in the spoken language of Egypt.

Uniformity.

(V.) The last aim that we shall mention is that of *Uniformity.* Hitherto each diocese had a variety of service of its own. All, it is true, were based on the same model, but each Bishop could exert what was called the *jus liturgicum*, or right to alter the services in his own diocese. That right has now ceased.

Cranmer, in his Preface, alludes to this "great diversity in saying and singing in Churches," and mentions that some followed "Salisbury Use, some Hereford Use, and some the Use of Bangor, some of York, some of Lincoln." All this was ended by the Act of Uniformity—"*Now from henceforth all the whole realm shall have but one Use.*"

It was this divergence of use that gave to us in 1544 our English Litany. In the previous year a wet harvest had ruined the crops, and in accordance with what we have seen of the history of Litanies, a "*Procession*" was ordered with the purpose of averting a famine. But the order was carried out in different ways, and the Litanies used were various, so that King Henry directed Cranmer to prepare

an authorised version of the English Litany for such public use. It was the first step towards the Act of Uniformity.

Such were the five main ends proposed by our Reformers. They sought to *simplify* and to *purify*. They made the services *popular* by the use of the mother tongue. They reduced to a *minimum* the danger of any renewal of abuses, by enjoining *Uniformity*. In it all they gave no greater boon to England than the open Bible, and the more full and continuous use of it in churches.

The First Prayer-Book—the Daily Services much shorter.

We shall now try to picture some of the main features of the Prayer-Book of 1549.

If we had lived in 1549, and had gone to Mattins or Evensong, we should have heard the service commence with the Lord's Prayer, the Minister alone repeating it, as now at the beginning of the Communion Office, and the service would have closed with the Third Collect.

This position of the Lord's Prayer as the starting point of devotion seems to date back to the days of Tertullian of Carthage (A.D. 200), who speaks of it

as the "foundation prayer" (*quasi fundamento*) on which we may acceptably build up all our other petitions and acts of worship. It is a master-key by which we open the gates of heaven, because we come in the words which Christ Himself has taught us.

After the Lord's Prayer there followed, almost as now, the *Versicles* or short petitions, and then the service of praise, which consists of the *Venite* and *Psalms*.[1]

The two *Lessons and Canticles* came next as we now have them, but the *Jubilate* was not added till 1552.

After the *Benedictus* came the closing prayers, headed by the *Lesser Litany, Creed, and Lord's Prayer*, and ending, as we have said, at the Third Collect.

Here the order was not exactly as in our present book. We now recite the *Creed* immediately after the *Benedictus* or *Jubilate*. In 1549 the *Creed* came between the *Lesser Litany* and

[1] The rubric then directed the *Venite* to be said "without any Invitatory," an instance of the greater simplicity at which Cranmer aimed. An "Invitatory" was a short verse, varying according to the season of the Christian year, which gave the special keynote to the thought of praise. It was sung before and after the *Venite*, and after several of the verses. See *Workmanhip of Prayer-Book*, pp. 60–63.

the *Lord's Prayer;* so that in 1549 we are to picture that solemn confession of faith as made by the people *kneeling.*

Thus the morning and, we may add, the evening prayers of 1549 commenced with the Lord's Prayer and ended with the Third Collect. There was no Address, Confession, or Absolution at the commencement; there were no "State Prayers" for Sovereign, Royal Family, and Clergy at the close. The service may be analysed as follows:—

1. Short opening Prayers, beginning with the Lord's Prayer.

2. The Sacrifice of Praise. (Psalms.)

3. Hearing God's Holy Word, with thanksgiving. (Lessons and Canticles.)

4. The Sacrifice of Confession (Creed) and Prayer.

There were *no metrical hymns.* The *Te Deum* with other Canticles supplied their absence, but it was not for want of metrical hymns in the Breviary. Some of our most beautiful modern hymns come from the old Latin service-books, as for instance, "The Royal banners forward go," which was sung on Passion Sunday.

We have one metrical hymn in the Ordinal, translated at that date, namely, the longer version of the

Veni Creator. We have also the old metrical version of the Psalms by Sternhold and Hopkins, which, we are told, greatly delighted the young King (Edward VI). We are also familiar in old Prayer-Books with a later version intended to "remedy the ruggedness of metre of the old versifiers," and known to us as "Tate and Brady's Psalter." On the whole these recollections will reconcile us to the fact that our Reformers did not translate and incorporate into *Mattins* and *Evensong* even some of the more beautiful hymns of the *Breviary*. The gift of writing strong terse English prose was theirs, but not that of graceful verse.[1] Cranmer made the attempt,—he "travailed to make the verses in English,"—but seems not to have been satisfied with it.

The service which we have described came mainly from the Breviary. The three services of *Mattins*, *Lauds*, and *Prime* were compressed into Morning Prayer, while *Vespers* and *Compline* resolved themselves into Evening Prayer. Of course much was left out, but hardly anything fresh was added. The English language and the larger reading of Scripture were the chief changes.

Speaking generally, we owe to Mattins our

[1] Procter, in his *History of Book of Common Prayer* (pp. 189–193) gives a very interesting account of the introduction of metrical hymns.

service from the *Lord's Prayer* to the end of the *Te Deum;* to Lauds from the *Benedicite* to the *Jubilate,* together with the Collect for the Day; while from the Creed to the Third Collect is taken from Prime.

In Evening Prayer, the end of the *Magnificat* marks the dividing line between *Vespers* and *Compline.* The *Jubilate, Cantate,* and *Deus Misereatur* were not added till 1552.

The Litany.

This was said on Wednesdays and Fridays, so that those who could only attend church on Sunday rarely heard it. It also contained a very strong petition for deliverance "*from the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities.*"

Holy Communion.

Next let us briefly imagine ourselves at the service of Holy Communion in 1549. If we had lived before that date and been accustomed to the old Latin services, we should have indeed felt that a great change had taken place. It was so great that it caused a rebellion in Devonshire and Cornwall. All was in

English, all could follow, all were exhorted not only to join in the prayers, but to "draw near and take" to their "great and endless comfort." *The Mass* (though the name still lingered) had become *the Communion*.

Next let us mark the differences that we should have noticed in the Communion Service of 1549 as compared with our own. They would be considerable; and two things would strike us most forcibly. (1) The absence of the *Ten Commandments*, and the position of the *Gloria in Excelsis* in their place, so that the service began not with a note of penitence, but with a burst of praise. (2) We should be struck with the fact that three of our present prayers were rolled into one, and formed a long prayer of Consecration; and further, that this *Canon* (as it was called) was introduced by "Lift up your hearts," and what follows these words, while it was closed by the Lord's Prayer.

This is the chief point in which the First Prayer-Book is nearer to the old services than the Second. We should observe this "*Canon*" very carefully, and then we shall easily see what took place in 1552. The following table will explain its several parts.

The "Canon" of 1549.

1. "Lift up your hearts," &c., to the end of "Holy, Holy, Holy," &c.
2. Our present Prayer for the Church (Militant here in earth).
3. Our Consecration Prayer.
4. Our first Prayer of Thanksgiving after Communion.[1]
5. The Lord's Prayer.

In addition we should have heard prayers for "mercy" and "everlasting peace," on behalf of those who "rest in the sleep of peace," a prayer for the Holy Spirit to sanctify the elements,[2] and a marked reference to our "*making the memorial*," by means of the Bread and Wine. The latter words, though capable of a truly scriptural meaning, were misinterpreted, and were therefore omitted in the Second Prayer-Book.

[1] "O Lord and heavenly Father, we Thy humble servants entirely desire," &c.

[2] "That they may be *unto us* the Body and Blood of Thy most dearly beloved Son, Jesus Christ." The words "*unto us*" are most important, as excluding any necessary doctrine of an objective presence. The elements *are* "*to us*" the Body and Blood, for they are the appointed seals of conveyance.

Offices for Holy Baptism.

Here again we should have seen much to remind us of the older services. At first we should have taken our place "at the church door," where the Minister met the child with its godparents, and there the first part of the service would have been held.

At this point the child was named and signed with a cross, the "unclean spirit," supposed to dwell in the child, was exorcised, the Gospel read, and the Lord's Prayer and Creed recited.

Afterwards we should have followed the Priest as he led the child to the font, where the vows were taken, and the child baptized. Then the child would be clothed in a "white vesture" as a token of "innocent living," and anointed with oil as a sign of the "unction of the Holy Spirit."[1]

Here are instances not of things in themselves wrong, but of excessive ceremonial, liable to superstitious use, ministering to externalism, and subsequently omitted by the Reformers in 1552.

The water in the font was at this date consecrated in a separate service, which was

[1] Called the Chrisom and Chrism respectively.

only used when the water was changed. This too was altered to our simpler form, probably because the idea of "holy water" kept in the font tended to a mistaken sense of its efficacy.

The Confirmation Service.

In 1549 and up to 1662 the new Catechism formed part of the service, so that the Bishop might "appose" the candidates in any question he might choose. Our present simple question and answer seem much more convenient, and were added in 1662, when the Catechism was separated from the service.

It is not generally known that the Apostolic "laying on of hands" was revived in this First Prayer-Book. It had died out in the *Sarum Use*, the candidate being only signed with the cross, and anointed. We claim for our Reformers that they thus revived a primitive custom and acted "after the example of the Holy Apostles." The sign of the cross was retained in the First Prayer-Book.

It is needless to proceed further. We must now pass on to the Second Prayer-Book of Edward VI.[1]

[1] The first English *Ordination Services* were published as a separate book in 1550. They were revised in 1552 and then added to the Prayer-Book.

CHAPTER V

THE SECOND PRAYER-BOOK OF EDWARD VI., 1552

Two forces leading to Reform.

In the Second Prayer-Book the advancing tide of change reached its height. There were two forces at work between 1549 and 1552, which tended to bring about the issue of a Prayer-Book which is practically our own.

(i) *Foreign Reformers in England.*

(I.) We have already come across the names of Martin Bucer and Peter Martyr, and have seen their advance to high honour at Cambridge and Oxford respectively. We have seen how that imperial edict against reform, the "*Interim*," drove across the sea such men as Pollanus and A'Lasko, and how Cranmer himself came under their influence.

This was one cause that made for further change. Bucer was requested to state his opinion on the First Book, and he did so at

great length, objecting to non-Communicating Attendance, Bell-ringing except before service, prayers for the dead, and various scenic ceremonies. Many of the things he censured were omitted in 1552, though it is not to be supposed that the changes were necessarily due to his influence. Still the presence in England of these men, and the honour paid to them, are facts which show how strongly the tide of reform was running at this time.

(ii) *Bishop Gardiner's use of the First Book.*

(II.) Possibly a more effective reason for some of the changes is to be found in the attitude which Bishop Gardiner assumed towards some parts of the First Prayer-Book. Gardiner was the ablest of the Bishops opposed to reform. His attitude to the new Communion Office was that of regret, but coupled with the contention that it still retained the old doctrine of the Mass, though the expression of it was deplorably weakened.

Accordingly he strained various phrases in the First Communion Service (1549) so as to prove that they at least allowed the Romish doctrine, even if they did not positively favour

it. And with great subtlety he charged Cranmer with inconsistency, on the ground that his recently published work on the Eucharist (1549) was at variance with parts of the new service. This may account for some changes made in 1552 which otherwise might not have been made. If Gardiner could defend Roman error by parts of the new service, then it was felt that more of the old forms must go.

Here we may possibly find the reason for the change of the words used in administering the bread and wine, the dividing up of the Canon, the removal of the words "do celebrate and make here the memorial," and the omission of all mention of the faithful dead. On such points as these Gardiner sheltered Romish error under cover of the new service.

Changes made in the Second Prayer-Book—the Daily Services enlarged.

We will now note the chief alterations made in the revision of 1552; they will also be found in the Tables at the end of this book, which give the changes made at the successive revisions.

At *Morning Prayer* there was one notable addition. The *Sentences, Exhortation, Confession,* and *Absolution* were now added as a penitential approach to God, a service of solemn preparation for Divine Worship. In doing this Cranmer (as we have seen) followed Quignon, and may have also been influenced by the Calvinist service-books of Pollanus and A'Lasko. The same addition was *ordered by rubric* at Evening Prayer, though it was *not printed there* till 1662. These services still ended at the Third Collect.

The *Jubilate, Cantate,* and *Deus Miscreatur* were also added at this revision, and the Apostles' Creed placed in its present position.

At this time the use of the Athanasian Creed was as an additional hymn after the Benedictus. It was said or sung on certain days not *in place of* the Apostles' Creed, but *in addition* to it. It did not displace the shorter Creed till 1662. This is in exact accordance with the true nature of the *Quicunque Vult.* It is a "choral paraphrase" of the Creed, rather than a true Creed.

Additions to the Litany.

In the Litany very little change was made, but it was now ordered to be used on Sundays,

as well as on Wednesdays and Fridays. Also, a collection of various prayers began to be made at its close, which in 1662 were separated off as "Prayers and Thanksgivings upon several occasions." The first six of these prayers were now collected or composed and placed in the Litany.[1]

Changes made in the Communion Office.

But the great changes were made in the Communion Office. Here undoubtedly a serious break was made with the old order, and a new form of service was initiated. Our English Communion Service differs materially in structure from the old Sarum Mass, and from all the Greek Liturgies. This is not in itself a matter of doctrine, but doctrinal causes dictated the change. The old order of Canon might have been retained along with the reformed teaching, and Cranmer in the first book attempted to do so. But so readily did the old structure of the Canon lend itself to a corrupt view of Eucharistic oblation, that

[1] For Rain and Fair Weather, in time of Dearth and Famine, in time of War (two forms), in time of Common Plague and Sickness. There were *no thanksgivings* till 1604.

it was felt wiser to largely reconstruct the service with an order peculiar to itself.

We are glad to be able to quote from so able and so unbiassed a writer as Professor Swete. He says: "In other words it heads a new liturgical family, and one which already has taken root, in slightly divergent forms, wherever the English tongue is spoken. There is no reason why English Churchmen should regret the fact, or pine for a restoration of the Roman Mass. It was fitting that the Church of England should possess not merely an uniform use, but one which, while in accordance with ancient precedent in things essential, should proclaim her independence of foreign dictation in the order of her worship."[1]

Let us try to form a clear idea of this new and momentous departure. Starting from the Communion Office of 1549, we will follow the lines of the new service in these three directions: (1) Additions, (2) Omissions, (3) Changes in structure.

(1) *Additions in Communion Office*, 1552.

There are four of these which no history of the Prayer-Book can omit. Three are in the service itself, and one is at its close.

The Ten Commandments were now added. The

[1] *Services and Service Books*, p. 120.

source was the Calvinistic service of Pollanus; the purpose to supply that self-examination and confession to God, which was to take the place (save in exceptional cases) of private conference with God's minister, and a special opening of grief to him.[1]

Entirely new *Words of Administration* were also provided. Those in 1549 had followed an old form, but though this was in itself a simple prayer that the Body and Blood of Christ given for us might preserve both body and soul to everlasting life, yet, as Gardiner argued from their continuance a continuity of doctrine which the Reformers repudiated, we can understand why they were omitted, and a new form ("Take and eat this," &c., "Drink this," &c.) substituted in their place. We shall see the older and the more modern forms combined in 1559.

The words "*Militant here in earth*" were added in the introduction to the "Prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church." This

[1] In 1549 "*auricular and secret confession to the Priest*" was left quite optional. In 1552 the phrase was abolished, and the private assistance given to those who cannot by the ordinary means of self-examination obtain a "quiet conscience," was described in other terms. See the end of the first long Exhortation before Communion. It emphasises such help as to be used exceptionally, not habitually.

addition must be taken in close connection with the omission of all mention of the faithful dead. Nothing can be more clear than that, in order to purge our Liturgy from all taint of Purgatory, Cranmer deliberately omitted whatever might in the least suggest any approach to such a thought.

[It will be convenient to name at this point the rearrangement of the Burial Service, which involved the omission of any mention of a Celebration of Holy Communion, and the removal of all prayers for the departed.

It is only fair to say that our prayer in the Burial Service was still (as now) called "the Collect," and this is taken to mean that there should be a Celebration. But the omission of the rubric ordering it, and of any new rubric suggesting it, as after the Marriage and Churching Services, leaves no doubt as to the Reformers' judgment that it was wiser to omit it altogether.]

The last addition is "*the Black Rubric*," or "Declaration on kneeling." It declares the significance of the act of kneeling at Communion, both positively and negatively; it tells us what it means, and then, to guard against error, it tells us what it does not mean.

When we kneel to receive the Bread and Wine we simply signify in act "our humble and grateful acknowledgement of the benefits of Christ therein given to all worthy Receivers." We do *not* intend by it any adoration "either unto the Sacramental Bread or Wine there bodily received, or unto any corporal[1] Presence of Christ's natural Flesh and Blood." These we are told "are in heaven."

(2) *Omissions in Communion Office*, 1552.

Mention has already been made of the old form of Administering the Bread and Wine, and also of the mention of the faithful dead.[2]

Most of the omissions speak for themselves. Perhaps the most notable was that of the *Invocation of the Holy Ghost on the Elements.*[3] Cranmer, as we saw, introduced this form from the Liturgies of the East. But Gardiner found in it an argument for Transubstantiation, and it was wisely omitted. It has appeared again in both the Scotch and American Prayer-Books, but its true meaning is sufficiently expressed in

[1] In 1662 "real and essential" was changed to "corporal" in the restored Declaration. For a similar Declaration (not a rubric) see those on the sign of the cross, and the state of Baptized Infants, after the Service for Infant Baptism.

[2] See pp. 65, 66. [3] See p. 22.

our present prayer, "Grant that we receiving these Thy creatures of Bread and Wine, . . . may be partakers of His most blessed Body and Blood."

Another significant omission was that of the formal words of "*Memorial*," which were as follows: "We . . . do celebrate and make here before Thy divine Majesty, with these Thy holy gifts, the memorial which Thy Son hath willed us to make." The reason for the omission is clear when we remember that the part of the Consecration Prayer which contained them, was moved to its present position as the first Post-Communion Prayer. It was a very decisive way of showing that nothing which lent itself to the idea of the Sacrifice of the Mass was to have a place in our Reformed Service. This too has been restored in the Scotch and American Liturgies. The words in themselves are suggestive of the simplest scriptural teaching, but Cranmer thought it necessary to omit them.

One omission is of interest, as showing how immemorial custom has sanctioned some things which are not directly enjoined. The question is often asked, On what authority do we say "Glory be to Thee, O Lord," before the Gospel?

There is no authority for it save that of old custom. It stood in the First Prayer-Book, but was omitted in the Second. The Scotch Prayer-Book of 1637 revived it, and added the corresponding response *after* the Gospel, "Thanks be to Thee, O Lord." But we have *rubrically* no authority for the practice.

(3) *Changes in Structure of Communion Office*, 1552.

1. The Commandments having been added at the beginning of the service, the use of the *Gloria in Excelsis*[1] there became unsuitable. Accordingly it was moved to the close, and now forms the final climax of praise and thanksgiving with which our Communion Office most fittingly concludes. We have certainly no reason to regret this rearrangement of thought which first leads us in penitent approach to the Holy Table, and at the last dismisses us with the voice of praise.

2. The *Canon*, and with it the whole service after the Offertory, was rearranged. It is here that our Communion Service is chiefly distinguished from all others. They have the old unbroken *Canon*, we have not.

[1] See p. 19.

The following Table will show what was done:

	1549.	1552.
From the "Order of Communion" 1548.	Exhortation and Invitation.	Exhortation and Invitation.
	Confession.	Confession.
	Absolution.	Absolution.
	Comfortable Words.	Comfortable Words.
	Prayer of Humble Access.	*Lift up your hearts*, &c. (old introduction to Canon).
The Central Action of the Service.	**Communion.**	Prayer of Humble Access (1548).
	(*Agnus Dei* during Communion, and Post Communion following it.)	(2) Prayer of Consecration.
		Communion.
The "Canon."	The Offertory.	The Offertory.
	Lift up your hearts, &c.	(1) Prayer for the Church (Militant).
	(1) Prayer for the Church.	*Lord's Prayer* (old close to Canon).
	(2) Prayer of Consecration.	(3) 1st Prayer of Thanksgiving (old Prayer of Oblation).
	(3) Prayer of Oblation.	2nd Prayer of Thanksgiving.
	Lord's Prayer.	Gloria in Excelsis.
	2nd Prayer of Thanksgiving.	Blessing.
	Blessing.	

A very slight study of the table will show that the *Canon* of 1549 was divided into three

separate prayers, marked (1) (2) (3) in both columns, and corresponding to our present (1) *Prayer for the Church Militant,* (2) *Consecration Prayer,* (3) *First Prayer of Thanksgiving.* This is the first and chief change.

Next note *how* they were separated. Between (1) and (2) was placed almost the whole service of 1548, with "Lift up your hearts," &c., as a climax of praise.

Between (2) and (3) was placed the Communion, so as to make the Consecration and Communion one continued action, not two separated actions as in 1549. The Prayer of Humble Access is strikingly placed as a prelude to this, the supreme action of the service.

Lastly, the Lord's Prayer, instead of ending the *Canon,* now forms the starting-point or "foundation prayer" of the Post-Communion act of praise. It will be observed that the Prayer of Oblation is now more emphatically made a Prayer of Spiritual Oblation,[1] and is used after the consecrated elements have been received.

[1] "Accept this one sacrifice of *praise and thanksgiving.*" "Here we offer and present . . . *ourselves, our souls and bodies,* to be a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice unto Thee."

N.B.—*The dividing of the "Canon" and the separation of its three great parts are the key by which to interpret the foregoing changes.*

Changes in Holy Baptism.

Here again great changes were made. The service at the church door was abolished, all being said at the font, and the detached service for Consecrating the Water was now incorporated in the Office and used on each occasion.

Moreover, there were three significant omissions. The Evil Spirit was no longer "Exorcised," and the use of both the Chrisom (or white robe) and Chrism (or anointing) was discontinued.

The Lord's Prayer was moved from its old place to the commencement of the Service of Thanksgiving, just as was done at Holy Communion. This is of interest, as showing that such changes were not made at random, or, as some say, for mere love of change. The position of "the children's prayer" is in both offices most suggestive and helpful, for it immediately follows the reception of either Sacrament. When can we more fittingly say, "*Our Father*"?

In Confirmation.

Here the sign of the cross was omitted, and our present simple and expressive prayer, "Defend, O Lord, this Thy child," &c., was substituted for an older one at the restored "Laying on of Hands."

In the Visitation of the Sick.

"Extreme Unction" had been retained in 1549, but was now omitted. The Reservation of the Elements for private Communion of the Sick was no longer ordered. The strong but carefully worded form of Absolution was no longer directed to be used "in all private Confession," but reserved for special cases in sickness where "humbly and heartily" desired.

Such were the momentous changes of 1552. They asserted the right of a National Church, not only to purge itself from error, but also, if need be, to establish a Use peculiar to itself, provided that it departed in nothing essential from the earlier forms of worship.

CHAPTER VI

THE PRAYER-BOOKS OF ELIZABETH AND JAMES I.,[1] 1559 *AND* 1604

I.

The Queen's policy of comprehension.

When Elizabeth came to the throne, after the sad and disastrous reign of Mary, most of the benefices were held by Romanists, and the Queen proceeded with the utmost caution. The Mass was continued, and the Coronation Service was accompanied by the ceremonies of the Pontifical. In the Royal Chapel, however, the Litany was used in English, as allowed in 1544, and we can well imagine the strong-minded Tudor Queen forbidding Bishop Oglethorpe, when on the point of celebrating Mass, to elevate the Host before her.

The Queen's position was full of difficulties. On the one hand there were the beneficed

[1] These, we shall see, were practically the same book, authorised by the one Act of Uniformity in 1559.

clergy favourable to the changes of Queen Mary and Cardinal Pole, on the other were the Protestant divines who now came forth from their continental hiding-places, and of whom many were zealous for the Calvinistic ideal of Reformation which they had seen at Frankfort and elsewhere.

The Queen was no Calvinist. But she foresaw what was to be expected from Rome, and that she needed to strengthen herself by the Protestant interest against her cousin, Mary Queen of Scots, who would have the Roman interest in France upon her side. Her own wishes were for moderate reform, and with the help of her great Archbishop, Matthew Parker, she struck out a middle course between extreme Protestants and Romanists, and followed a policy of *comprehension*.

The Bishops must often have had a hard time with Elizabeth. On one occasion the Bishop of London preached on dress, whereupon the Queen remarked that "if the Bishop held more discourse on such matters, she would soon fit him for heaven: but he should walk thither without a staff, and leave his mantle behind him." She would never reconcile herself to the marriage of the clergy, and refused to rescind the law against it passed by Mary. Con-

sequently the wives of the Bishops and clergy held a strangely anomalous position. Once the Queen called on the Archbishop, and, having been kindly welcomed by Mrs. Parker, said on leaving, "Madam I may not call you, mistress I am ashamed to call you, so I know not what to call you, but yet I do thank you."

Elizabeth's purpose was to pacify these contending factions, and the religious history of her reign is a record of the difficulties, the partial failure, and the substantial success, of her endeavour. It was impossible to conciliate all. The wonder is that she conciliated so many, and that while securing to us the ancient heritage of the Church both in forms of worship and in orders of ministry, she was able to accept the Reformation as an accomplished fact and to reverse no cardinal feature in it.

The Prayer-Book of 1552 *chosen.*

The anxious question must have arisen in many minds, as to which of the two Prayer-Books should be chosen. Some would prefer that of 1549 with its stronger leanings to the old forms. Others would be satisfied with nothing less than the more Protestant book of 1552. Neither would satisfy the

extremists, and as a matter of fact while the great body of Churchmen remained faithful to the new services, dissenters broke off in either direction. The first Roman secession and the first Protestant secession took place in Elizabeth's reign.

Which book then was to be chosen? Happily there was no hesitation, and the Second Book of Edward became the Book of Common Prayer for this realm. Changes were made in it by Elizabeth, and further changes were made in subsequent reigns, but the main positions won in 1552 still remain as the cardinal characteristics of our Prayer-Book, as distinguished from the unreformed services.

Thus while choosing the more Protestant service-book, a few important alterations were made. The policy of comprehension was sure to leave its mark on a work which more than anything else gave expression to the religious thought and temper of the age. We will now note what changes were made, and it will be seen how suggestive they are of this predominant desire to form a National Church on a broad and comprehensive basis.

Four important changes.

First let us take the four notable changes which specially mark this desire to make the book of 1552 more palatable to those who preferred the First Prayer-Book

(i) *Vestments.*

The "Ornaments Rubric" was altered to include more of the old Vestments. The Vestments to be used at Holy Communion had been greatly reduced in 1552. A new rubric now restored those ordered in 1549. This would of course please those who clung to a continuity of ritual, but it seriously offended what we may now call the Puritans. Moreover, the very order which again reduced the mediæval Vestments, namely the *Advertisements* of 1566, by insisting severely on uniformity, gave offence to the Puritans, and led to the rise of Nonconformity in England.

Two things here deserve notice.

(1.) A very important change had been made in 1549. The *Cope* was then allowed as alternative with the *Chasuble* at Holy Communion. This was a Protestant innovation, for the Chasuble was a sacri-

ficial vestment, which the Cope[1] was not. The introduction of this alternative and non-sacrificial garment greatly weakened the argument for the propitiatory character of the Mass. In other words, the first introduction of the Cope was anti-Roman.

(2.) The Act of Uniformity, which legalised the new Prayer-Book in 1559, pointed to further changes which the Queen had power to make, and the "Ornaments Rubric" made distinct reference to this Act. Our highest courts have decided that this famous "further order" was taken in the Advertisements of 1566, which again were practically incorporated in the Canons of 1604. According to this ruling the surplice with hood or tippet, and the cope on certain occasions are the legal vestments of the Priest at all ministrations.

(ii) *The "Black Rubric" omitted.*

The "Black Rubric," or Declaration on kneeling, was omitted. It had been added in 1552, but may have been thought to be needlessly metaphysical and dogmatic in a book of devotion. It was also a stumbling-block to some whom Elizabeth sought to win. The doctrine of Transubstantiation was expressly condemned in the Articles, so that no argu-

[1] The Cope may be worn by a layman. It is worn by the Vice-Chancellors and Regius Professors at Oxford and Cambridge.

ment in favour of that idea can be based on the omission. The Declaration was restored in 1662.

(iii) *The Earlier Forms of Administration combined.*

The Words of Administration of 1549 *and* 1552 *were combined.* This was the most characteristic change.

In 1549 the first clause[1] in each case was suggested by an early source. These were rejected in 1552 because they were used to cover the old Roman doctrine. Our second clauses[2] were substituted, being entirely new and free from all possibility of error.

But the older clauses really taught no error. They recalled the very words of Institution, and indeed represented a very essential truth of the Sacrament. The new clauses, on the other hand, were singularly beautiful, and also recalled the Saviour's words, "Do this *in*

[1] "The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life." "The Blood of our Lord," &c.

[2] "Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on Him in thine heart by faith with thanksgiving." "Drink this," &c.

remembrance of Me." Both were fitting and both were combined.

Students of the first three Prayer-Books may well note this history of the Words of Administration, for it illustrates very exactly what were the special points of difference between those three typical landmarks in the progress of Reform.

(iv) *Prayer against the Pope omitted.*

The Prayer against the tyranny of the Pope was omitted from the Litany. We may wonder whether this change would have been made later in the reign, when the schemes of Philip II., the plots of the Roman priests, the Queen's excommunication by the Pope, and the Spanish Armada, had brought out into clearer light than ever "the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities." But Elizabeth desired to win even those who thought better of the Pope than she did; and few among ourselves would really care to pray so strongly worded a petition.

These four changes are the true "notes" of the Elizabethan revision.

Other changes in 1559.

The other changes were of less importance. The prayer for the Queen which now stands in Morning and Evening Prayer was added in this reign. It was placed at the end of the Litany, which was a gathering-place for all such additions until 1662. If any one will consult the "Liturgies of Queen Elizabeth" published by the Parker Society, or some old Prayer-Book of this or the following reigns, he will find a long string of prayers at the close of the Litany, which are now familiar friends in other parts of the Prayer-Book.[1] It is fitting that the prayer for our own loved Queen should have been of English origin, and it is at least interesting to note that it came into public use in the reign of the earlier of England's greatest queens.

"The Grace of our Lord," &c., was now added for the first time at the end of the Litany. Morning and Evening Prayer still ended, we must remember, at the Third Collect.

In the Ordinal the "Oath of the King's Supre-

[1] It is sometimes stated that the prayers "for the Clergy and People," and "O God, whose nature," &c., were now *added* in this place. They were *restored*, having been retained from the Breviary in 1544, but omitted in 1549. They are old Latin prayers of the fifth and sixth centuries.

macy" was changed into that of the "Queen's Sovereignty," a change which corresponded to her rejection of the title, "Supreme Head of the Church," though she retained that of "Supreme Governour."

Lastly, a slight alteration was made as to the *place* where Daily Prayer should be said. In 1552 it was to be "in such place as the people may best hear." The new rubric now directed it to be "used in the accustomed place of the Church . . . and the Chancels shall remain as they have done in times past." The order was clearly to prevent needless changes of position, and the demolishing of our beautiful chancels. The Bishop or "Ordinary,"[1] however, had power to alter the place if unsuitable. This is an instance of the wise moderation which guided the Reformers' counsels.

The Thirty-nine Articles, 1571.

Though not part of the "Contents" of our Prayer-Book,[2] the Thirty-nine Articles are so

[1] The word "Ordinary" occurs several times in the Prayer-Book. He was the ordinary judge in matters ecclesiastical, and practically means the Bishop.

[2] Modern Prayer-Books include them in the "Contents," but this is not justified by the original MS. or early printed copies. They form a most suitable addition, and should be read carefully and often referred to by loyal Churchmen.

closely related to it, and so frequently bound up with it, that it is well to notice them very briefly. They first appeared in Edward VI.'s reign, and were forty-two in number. In 1562 they were republished, and after certain omissions and additions numbered thirty-eight. Our present "Thirty-nine Articles" were issued in 1571.

This attempt at Uniformity of Worship, although marked by a most broad-minded spirit of conciliation, could not be completely successful. As we have seen, the first dissenters arose in this reign. Protestant dissent asserted its rights of conscience on the one side. On the other arose the Italian schism, or the Church of Rome in England.

II.

James I. and the Puritans.

We must pass to the reign of James I. The Puritans had gained great strength in Elizabeth's reign, and expected much from the new Scotch king. But he was the son of Mary Stuart; and he neither himself relished the ways of Presbyterians, nor loved them for their treatment of his mother.

He was fond of religious discussion, and proud of his theological knowledge. The Puritans presented a petition, with so many signatures that it was called the Millenary Petition, desiring certain changes, and the king not unwillingly consented to a conference, at which he himself presided.

The chief objections laid against the Prayer-Book referred to the following practices :—

The use of the Cross in Baptism.
The use of the Surplice.
Bowing at the name of Jesus.
The ring in marriage.
The reading of the Apocrypha.
Baptism by Laymen.

The Hampton-Court Conference.

The conference met in January 1604 at the palace of Hampton Court. This is one of the most interesting memories of that attractive spot, where, curious to relate, Edward VI. was born. Here for three days learned Bishops and learned Puritans in the presence of a learned monarch [1] discussed what

[1] James' claim to learning seems undoubted. But he was a pedant, and often his very learning made him ridiculous. For a vivid picture of this strange monarch, see Sir Walter Scott's *Fortunes of Nigel.*

changes ought to be made in the Prayer-Book.

The results were not great, but there was one noble result in which both Puritan and Episcopalian alike can glory. The Conference advised, and the King sanctioned the revision of the English Bible, and our present "Authorised Version" was issued in 1611. Few memories of the old palace by the Thames are more worthy of record than that it was the birthplace of our present English Bible.

We cannot follow the discussion which took place, we must be content with the results. These results were issued as "*Explanations*," a curious term adopted in order to include them under Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity. Thus King James' revision is the only one not enforced by a separate Act of Uniformity.

The Changes in 1604.

No changes were made in the Communion Office. This of itself is sufficient to show that nothing of importance was altered.

"*Absolution or Remission of Sins.*"

At the Absolution in the Daily Prayers the words "Or Remission of Sins," were added

in the previous rubric, to meet the desire of the Puritans for some explanation of "Absolution." This explains "Absolution" to be that Remission of Sins which is distinct from Divine Pardon, and which consists of that outward seal of pardon which the Lord has committed to His Church. What it means is nowhere more clearly indicated than in the Absolution itself. It first states that such "power and commandment" has been given to God's ministers, and then simply explains it as "declaring and pronouncing to His people, being penitent, the Absolution and Remission of their sins." The Divine Pardon and Absolution is then formally pronounced. *It is the Church's official declaration of God's pardon to the truly penitent.* This is the "Remission of Sins" committed by Christ to His Church, and entrusted at ordination to the higher order of ministers.

Additions to the Litany.

In the Litany came the first prayers for the Royal Family. The clause was inserted in the Litany, while our present prayer at Daily Service was added in the collection of prayers

still gathering at its close. This is an addition very easy to remember. Neither Edward, Mary, nor Elizabeth had children to pray for. But James the First had his wife and family, and it was natural to add special prayers on their behalf.

Another very important contribution was made to this rapidly increasing close of the Litany. Hitherto our Prayer-Book had been singularly wanting in definite and special forms of *Thanksgiving*. There were added now Thanksgivings for Rain, for Fair Weather, for Plenty, for Peace and Deliverance from our Enemies, and for Deliverance from "common sickness." The "General Thanksgiving," which now stirs our hearts to lively devotion as we recall our creation, preservation, and above all our redemption, was not composed till 1662. But we may again look gratefully to the venerable walls of Hampton Court for this first instalment of Special Thanksgivings.

Lay Baptism irregular.

Again, in the Office for Private Baptism certain words were omitted which sanctioned *Lay Baptism*. Previously when a child was very

ill, "*one of them that be present*" might baptize it, as in the *Sarum Manual*.[1] The Puritans thought that this laid too much stress on the necessity of Baptism, and they specially demurred to its being administered by women. Accordingly the words "lawful minister" were added, and Lay Baptism became *irregular*.

There can be no doubt that it is right for a layman (male or female) to baptize in emergency, and in such a case Baptism is not administered a second time. In other words, it is *irregular, but valid*.

When General Gordon was expecting to visit the Congo, just before his ill-fated expedition to Khartoum, he called upon the Bishop of London, and asked him several questions. Two are of permanent interest.

One question was whether he was himself justified in preaching the Gospel to the natives, even though unaccompanied by an ordained minister. The answer was very decidedly in the affirmative.

A second question was whether, in the case of obtaining true converts to the Faith, he might, in the absence of a minister, himself *admit them by Baptism to be members of the visible Church*. The Bishop replied that he might certainly do so.

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[1] Procter, *Hist. Book of Common Prayer*, p. 416. "Et ideo si *laicus* baptizaverit puerum . . . non rebaptizet eum."

The Catechism enlarged.

The second part of our Church Catechism which deals with the two Sacraments, is another fruit of the Hampton Court conference. It was a complaint of the Puritans that candidates were insufficiently prepared for Confirmation. There is no change which we have to record at this date which has stronger claims on the gratitude of English Churchmen. The style of this addition is more formal than that of the earlier part, which is devotional, not academic, but this is probably a gain and not a loss in dealing with so difficult a subject. It came from the pen of Bishop Overal.

The Prayer-Book of 1552 *practically unchanged.*

It will be seen that the Prayer-Book of King James was really that of Elizabeth with a few valuable but, from a historical point of view, unimportant changes. We may be inclined to think that language is somewhat strained in terming them "*Explanations*," but we are content to note that the great foundations laid by Cranmer and Ridley in 1552 remain un-

shaken, while new stones from various English sources, some of special value and beauty, are being built in. This Prayer-Book remained in use for forty-one years, until suppressed by the Long Parliament in 1645. It is expressly referred to in "The Preface" of 1662, where Bishop Sanderson, speaking for all the revisers, gives it this high commendation:—

"We are fully persuaded in our judgements (and we here profess it to the world) that the Book, as it stood before established by law, doth not contain in it anything contrary to the Word of God, or to sound doctrine, or which a godly man may not with a good conscience use and submit unto."[1]

[1] *The Preface*, § 3.

CHAPTER VII

THE PRAYER-BOOK OF CHARLES II.

THE SAVOY CONFERENCE, 1661–1662

We are now approaching the last stage in the gradual building up of our Liturgy. At each revision it has been necessary first to get at the trend of current thought, and to mark the temper of the times. It is more than ever necessary to do so, if we are to realise the marvellous guidance of God's hand upon the revisers of 1662. That a revision carried out at such a crisis, when men, who had been exiled and had suffered for their loyalty to Church and King, were now on the full tide of triumph, should have been so moderately effected, is one of the clearest tokens of God's good providence to England.

The present Preface.

Happily we have an account given by the revisers themselves of the circumstances and aims of their work. The present *Preface*

was written in 1662, and reflects admirably the historical crisis which finally shaped our present Prayer-Book, and the temper of those who finally revised it. The *Preface* was written by one of those great divines. "We can hardly fail to study the *Preface* to the Prayer-Book with closer attention when we connect that admirable expression of sound principles and good sense with one of the wisest, most reasonable, and most acute thinkers of his age, Robert Sanderson, whose sermons and University lectures are among the great treasures of English Theology."[1]

Just as the student, who would understand the work of Cranmer and others in 1549, must carefully analyse Cranmer's Preface ("Concerning the Service of the Church") and his chapter "Of Ceremonies," so for the student of the final stage of this inquiry Sanderson's Preface is the master-key to open up the true story of the last revision.

Events between 1604 *and* 1662.

It is needless to detain the reader with any detailed account of what took place between

[1] Bishop Dowden, *Workmanship of the Prayer-Book*, p. 12.

1604 and 1662. James I. was succeeded by his son Charles I. in 1625. In 1640 the "Long Parliament" met, and the Prayer-Book was suppressed by it in 1645. The King was executed at Whitehall on January 30, 1649, and on May 29, 1660, his son Charles II. was restored.

Two events in this period deserve attention: (1) the publication of the Scotch Prayer-Book in 1637, and (2) the suppression of the English Prayer-Book during the Commonwealth.

(i) *The Scotch Prayer-Book*, 1637.

This book is important on account of Archbishop Laud's influence on its compilers, and because it was undoubtedly in the hands of the revisers in 1662.

The Scotch Reformation did not proceed on parallel lines with that in England, and the Calvinistic influence was much more strongly felt. The English Prayer-Book was set aside by John Knox, nor was it till 1616 that the General Assembly sanctioned the compiling of a Scotch Liturgy.

This took effect in the reign of Charles I. The King and Laud would have preferred that

the Scotch Church should accept the English book, but it was only natural that such a nation, so recently united to England, should choose to have its own national Liturgy.

At last Charles yielded, and directed Archbishop Laud and Bishop Wren to assist the Scotch Bishops in their work. It is known that Laud made various suggestions which were adopted, and in this way we are able to trace Laud's influence, though indirect, on the history of the Prayer-Book.

The Scotch Prayer-Book of 1637 had a short and calamitous existence. It was unhappily regarded as an attempt to force Episcopacy on Scotland, and was intimately connected with the march of the Scotch armies into England. On the memorable Sunday when the new Prayer-Book was to be used for the first time, the service in St. Giles' Cathedral, Edinburgh, had hardly begun, when a tumult arose, and one infuriated Scotchwoman, Jenny Geddes by name, hurled her three-legged stool at the head of the unfortunate minister.

Yet historically the book has much interest. It reveals a curious combination of opposite tendencies. In some matters there is clearly

an aim at conciliating Presbyterian prejudices. In others there is a distinct return to the older forms and order of 1549.

Instances of the former ambition are the less frequent use of the Apocrypha, and the substitution of *Presbyter* for *Priest* throughout the book.

The tendency to return to older forms is still more marked. In fact, the old *Canon*[1] of 1549 was restored, with the exception of the Prayer for the Church Militant, which remained in its new English position. Thus the "Invocation" and the words "of Memorial" were just as in 1549, and the *Canon* began with "Lift up your hearts," &c., and ended with the Lord's Prayer.

Influence of the Scotch Prayer-Book on our own.

The influence of this Scotch Prayer-Book upon our own may be traced in such points as the following. The Manual Acts at Consecration omitted in 1552 were restored. The Doxology from St. Matthew's Gospel was added in several places to the Lord's Prayer. These changes were followed in 1662, when the

[1] See pp. 56, 70.

second Ember Collect, and, in a modified form, the Collect for Easter Even, were also added from the same service-book.

One more alteration due to the Scotch Liturgy must be noted. Up to this date our Morning and Evening Services ended at the Third Collect. We know that now these are followed by the Prayers for the Queen, the Royal Family, and the Clergy, with the Prayer of St. Chrysostom and the Grace at the close. This addition to Morning and Evening Prayer *is first found in the Scotch Book*, and there can be no doubt that in this matter the revisers of 1662 copied it.

It is very noteworthy, however, that in the restoration of the "Invocation" and "Memorial," and in the *order of the Canon*, our revisers declined to follow in the same footsteps. Nor did they restore the distinct "offering" of the Bread and Wine before the Prayer for the Church Militant,[1] or the distinct prayer for the faithful dead, though these had been revived in the Prayer-Book for Scotland. In

[1] This, as Bishop Dowden has pointed out (*Journal of Theological Studies*, April 1900), tells against the theory that the "Oblations" in our Prayer-Book refer, at least exclusively, to the Bread and Wine.

other words, the revision of 1662 left unchanged, in all main respects, the decision of Elizabeth that the Prayer-Book of 1552 was to be the future Prayer-Book of the Church of England.

Enough has been said to show that no study of our Prayer-Book can be complete, which omits entirely the history of the Scotch Liturgy.

(ii) *The Book of Common Prayer suppressed in* 1645.

A very brief notice of the suppression of the Prayer-Book by the Long Parliament will suffice. Laud's narrow and unwise policy bore fruit not only in his own death, and that of the king, but it awoke the most bitter passions, landed England in "unhappy confusions," and led to at least an equal intolerance on the Puritan side.

In Elizabeth's reign (1560), to celebrate the Mass, or even to be present at its celebration, was made a capital offence. Just so, when the Prayer-Book was suppressed in 1645, it was not only forbidden to use it in any public place of worship, but *even to say its beautiful*

prayers in a family was punishable by heavy fines and imprisonment.

There is a very graphic scene by the pen of Sir Walter Scott in *Woodstock* which illustrates this point. Roger Wildrake comes unexpectedly on Sir Henry Lee and his daughter in the forester's cottage with one of the deprived clergy, "who, with a low, but full and deep voice, was reading the Evening Service according to the Church of England." We are no admirers of Dr. Rochecliffe, the clergyman in question, but the scene is true to history so far as it describes the danger attending such worship even in private families.

"*The Directory*" *substituted.*

In place of the Book of Common Prayer the Westminster Assembly of Divines issued "The Directory," which was "not so much a Form of Devotion as a Manual of Directions," to guide the minister in the conduct of public worship.[1]

The one point of interest in this book, for our present study, is that it contains *the first issue of Prayers for those at Sea.* It was found

[1] For an account of the "Directory," see Procter, *History*, &c., pp. 103 ff. It is interesting to note that it contains a distinct prayer for the "Sanctification" of the Bread and Wine, and the elements are there spoken of as "Sanctified by the word and prayer" (p. 105).

that sailors either used the good old prayers of the Prayer-Book, or none at all. A book of directions how to pray hardly met a sailor's case. Accordingly a supplement was added to the "Directory" containing prayers on the prescribed lines. It is very singular to find among them a very beautiful prayer for the king! There can be no doubt as to this service affording the suggestion for our present "Forms of Prayer to be used at Sea," which were added in 1662, and form so essential a part of *England's Prayer-Book*.

The Accession of Charles II.

Charles received such a welcome on his return from exile as led that merry monarch to say, "It is my own fault that I had not come back sooner, for I find nobody who does not tell me he has always longed for my return." He had great opportunities,—would that he had used them better!

He began well by displaying wise moderation in matters of religion. Even at Breda, before leaving the land of exile, he issued a declaration which breathed the true spirit of toleration. "No man," it said, "shall be dis-

quieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matters of religion."

Eminent Presbyterians now sought his ear with requests against restoring the Prayer-Book, and certain ceremonies in worship, such as kneeling at Communion, &c. But though he answered kindly, Charles loved the Presbyterians as little as did his grandfather James I. He wisely made no promises, and referred the decision to Parliament. In the meantime great freedom of use was allowed as to the surplice, the sign of the cross in Baptism, and kneeling at Communion, all these things being left open for discussion at a Conference between the Presbyterian and Episcopalian divines, and for subsequent settlement by Convocation and Parliament.

The Savoy Conference: its Four Stages.

The Conference was held in April–July 1661, in the Savoy Hospital near the Strand, then one of the residences of the Bishop of London. This was the famous "Savoy Conference," and it was attended by the ablest men of both parties. Among the Episcopal divines were Bishops Cosin and Sanderson,

and Dr. Pearson, the author of the well-known work on the Creed. The Presbyterians included Dr. Reynolds, to whom we owe our General Thanksgiving, and who alone of his party accepted a Bishopric;[1] Baxter, the author of *The Saints' Everlasting Rest;* and Dr. John Lightfoot, the greatest Hebrew scholar of that age.[2]

Their consultations ended in failure, through the absence of true principles of toleration on either side. But the Conference holds so important a position in the story of this last stage of the building, that we give the following bird's-eye view of what occurred at this "Round Table Conference" of 1661.

There were four stages in its progress.

(1) The Presbyterians, as the party desirous of change, stated their objections to the Prayer-Book. Let us try to picture some features of our services had these proposals been accepted.

No surplice would have been worn. Our position at receiving Holy Communion would have varied, some sitting, others kneeling. Responses by the people would have disappeared,

[1] Bishop of Norwich.

[2] He was Master of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge.

and even the alternate reading of the Psalms, as causing a confused murmur in the congregation. Saints' Days with their beautiful Collects, and helpful Epistles and Gospels, would also have gone, as being days of merely human institution. No prayer for forgiveness and grace would have followed the recital of each commandment, and our expressive Litany would have given place to one long and solemn prayer. Children would not be signed with a cross when received as Christ's "soldiers and servants," and the significant old custom of bowing at the name of Jesus in the Creed would have been forbidden.[1] Such widespread condemnation of some at least of the most beautiful features in our Liturgy boded ill for the success of the Conference.

(2) The Bishops proposed certain changes as concessions to the Presbyterians. But it must be confessed that they display a very moderate desire to meet the real difficulties of their brethren, even when no principle was involved.

(3) The Presbyterians presented a new Form of Worship, drawn up in a very short time by Richard Baxter. They also added a

[1] This ceremony is mentioned in Canon XVIII.

"Petition for Peace," containing a request that at least the alternative use of Baxter's Liturgy and the Book of Common Prayer might be allowed, and in other ways little calculated to promote unity.

One demand deserved sympathetic treatment, and had it been thought possible to grant it, other difficulties would have been immensely smoothed. It was that re-ordination should not be imposed of necessity on those clergy who had not received Episcopal Ordination. Had that been granted, it seems probable that Episcopal Orders would have been accepted for the future. And we must not forget that some of our best English divines were then advocating communion with the Non-Episcopal Churches of the Continent. Nothing contributed more to the great Puritan secession than the refusal to allow that generation of clergy to pass away without insisting upon re-ordination.

(4) The Presbyterians were finally asked to distinguish between what they regarded as *distinctly sinful* in the Prayer-Book and what was merely inexpedient. *Eight sinful matters* were thereupon named. It will be seen that the sinfulness does not consist *in the act itself*, but in the fact that it has been made a binding order in a particular church. This is a direct denial of one essential principle of the

Reformation, namely, the right of national churches to ordain ceremonies which are not repugnant to the Word of God.

These sinful particulars were the obligation on the part of the minister to baptize with the sign of the cross, to wear a surplice, to require that the Communion should be received kneeling, to pronounce all baptized infants to be regenerate, and so forth.

It was necessary thus briefly to dwell on the course of the Savoy Conference, in order to understand why the last revision bears so little trace of concession to Presbyterian demands.

The last Revision—Literary witness to its progress.

The Conference having failed, Convocation, by royal command, appointed a committee of Bishops to revise the Prayer-Book. The revised book passed both houses of Convocation in December 1661, was shortly afterwards accepted by Parliament, and on May 19, 1662, the last Act of Uniformity received the Royal assent.

The literary history of this revision is of special interest, owing to some remarkable traces of it which have survived. Some of our readers may have seen the early proofs of the Revised Version of the Bible with marginal notes by some of the revisers recording the suggestions made, some of which were accepted and others rejected. Very similar are the traces left of the progress of this last revision. We are able to follow closely the footsteps of the revisers, and by their MS. corrections which have come down to us, to ascertain what suggestions were made and rejected, as well as those which were finally approved.

The "Sealed Books" and the "Book Annexed."

We have first of all the "Sealed Books," that is, various printed copies made from *the original MS. which was attached to the Act of Uniformity*, and which were certified as correct under the Great Seal. These were deposited in each cathedral and in other places.

But though the Act of Uniformity itself was to be seen in the Victoria Tower at Westminster, this original MS. of the Prayer-Book was nowhere to be found, though the holes in the

parchment to which it had been tied were silent witnesses to its removal.

In 1867 came the Royal Commission on Ritual. Careful search was now made for this MS. ("The Book Annexed," as it was called), and at last the missing document was discovered in a closet in the Library of the House of Lords. We have in it the original authorised copy of our Book of Common Prayer. It is a large MS., beautifully written, and facsimile copies are to be seen in many libraries.

The printed Prayer-Book of 1636, *&c.*

This led to another discovery. Along with it was found a volume of which the very existence had been unknown before 1867. It was a large black-letter Prayer-Book of 1636, which had been used in Convocation for the corrections to be made in 1661, and is undoubtedly the original from which "The Book Annexed" was copied. It has many marginal corrections in the handwriting of Bishop Cosin's secretary, afterwards Archbishop Sancroft.[1] To give a

[1] The leader of the seven Bishops whom James II. sent to the Tower, and subsequently of the nonjurors who refused to take the oath of allegiance to William and Mary.

single instance, we find the words "militant here in earth" erased in the printed book, and then restored in handwriting. There are several such interesting traces.

The Prayer-Book of Cosin, Bishop of Durham, is also to be seen in the Durham Library. It has similar marginal corrections in Sancroft's handwriting. Lastly, there is a Prayer-Book in the Bodleian at Oxford, which is again annotated by Sancroft, and represents a stage of revision between that of Cosin's Prayer-Book and the newly-discovered Prayer-Book of 1636.

Litera scripta manet. Here are silent witnesses enabling us to trace with certainty what points were raised, and how they were settled. We can thus mark with unusual precision the progress of revision.

The changes in 1662—Bishop Sanderson's Preface added.

We come to the actual results. Reference has been already made to Bishop Sanderson's Preface. Let us turn to it and see what it tells us.

It first states that it has always been the

wisdom of the Church of England, since the Prayer-Book of 1549, to "keep the mean between the two extremes—of too much stiffness in refusing, and of too much easiness in admitting, any variation from it."

It then deprecates needless changes, but justifies the revisions made "in the Reigns of several Princes of blessed memory since the Reformation," and claims that the "main Body and Essentials" have still continued unto this day, only such things having been altered as are "in their own nature indifferent."

No one can fail to recognise here the description by a master-hand of the history we have so imperfectly sought to trace.

The suppression of the Prayer-Book "during the late unhappy divisions" is then alluded to, and the legality of that act denied. The attempt to hinder the revival of the Liturgy "upon His Majesty's happy restoration," and the "great importunities used to His Sacred Majesty," are duly noted, with the King's "pious inclination to give satisfaction . . . to all his subjects of what persuasion soever."

The Preface then claims that the revisers of 1662 endeavoured "to observe the like modera-

tion," and indicates the various kinds of alterations which they refused or consented to make. Three aims were kept in view. (1) "The preservation of peace and unity in the Church." (2) "The procuring of reverence, and exciting of Piety and Devotion in the Publick Worship of God." (3) "The cutting off occasion from them that seek occasion of cavil or quarrel against the Liturgy of the Church." Such were the truly noble aims which these Bishops set before them.

Four classes of alteration are named.

(i) Changes in the Calendar and Rubricks.
(ii) The removal of obsolete words and phrases.
(iii) The use of the New Version of Holy Scripture (1611).
(iv) The addition of Prayers and Thanksgivings.

Under the latter head special mention is made of the "Prayers for those at Sea," and the "Office for the Baptism of such as are of Riper Years."

The reasons given for this latter addition are full of interest, and reflect exactly the history

of these times. One reason is "the growth of Anabaptism," the "Anabaptists" here referred to being the "Baptists" of to-day.[1]

But another reason is of more permanent interest. It is hoped that this service for Adults "*may be always useful for the baptizing of Natives in our Plantations, and others converted to the Faith.*" It was a hope to be more widely realised than Sanderson, Cosin, and the other Bishops could have ever dreamed. The great use of the service has been for the Foreign Missionary Work of the Church of England. Hundreds of thousands of "natives in our Plantations" (*i.e.* Colonies) and of "others converted to the Faith" (*i.e.* heathen not under English rule), have been brought into the visible fold of Christ's Church in the words of this service.

We may add that the Prayers for our sailors' use, and the Service for the Baptism of Converts to the Faith are most prophetic of that world-wide empire, and that world-wide preaching of the Gospel for which we thank God to-day.

[1] We must, however, carefully distinguish our brethren, the modern "Baptists," from those who held the wild pernicious Anabaptist views of the seventeenth century.

The changes made in 1662 were numerous, but only a few of the most characteristic can now be noted. A fuller list will be found in the comparative tables on p. 131.

Morning and Evening Prayer again lengthened.

Hitherto these services ended at the Third Collect. Following the example of the Scotch Prayer-Book, the prayers for the King, the Royal Family, and the Clergy, with St. Chrysostom's Prayer and the Grace, were removed to this place from the end of the Litany.

The position of *the Anthem* after the Third Collect is an interesting relic of the order made in Elizabeth's reign, allowing a hymn to be sung *before* and *after* service. Thus the people had become accustomed to singing after the Third Collect with which the service closed, and the rubric was framed accordingly. Many will remember that it is only recently that the custom of singing a hymn *before* service has died out. In the diocese of Sodor and Man, where the writer was brought up, this used to be the invariable custom forty years ago.

The Litany of 1662—*Important Additions.*

Two changes reflecting current history have here to be noted. The words "rebellion'

and "schism" were added. It is needless to comment upon them. "Bishops, Priests, and Deacons" were also substituted for "Bishops, Pastors, and Ministers," a substitution no less characteristic of the days when the Savoy Conference had failed to bring peace. Further, the special Prayers and Thanksgivings which had accumulated since 1552 at the end of the Litany were now separated from it, and most important additions were made. *All the prayers familiar to us to-day by regular use were now added.* They were the Ember Collects, the Prayers for Parliament, and for "All sorts and Conditions of men," with the General Thanksgiving. These were additions which have singularly enriched our Prayer-Book, and it is hard to imagine our services without them.

The Communion Service of 1662.

Several important restorations were here made. That for which we must be most thankful is the Commemoration of the Faithful Dead. It is in the form of thanksgiving, and our Eucharist would be incomplete without it. It was restored to its old position at the end of the Prayer for the Church, and we are taught,

by the change made both here and in the Burial Service, that the true form of prayer for the final consummation and bliss is, not "*that we and they*," or "*that they with us*," but "*that we with them*" may inherit the everlasting kingdom.

The printed Prayer-Books named above (pp. 107 *f.*) prove that there was a desire on the part of some to omit the words "militant here in earth." They are first erased and then restored in handwriting.

The revival of this most comforting act of devotion, so suggestive of the lasting Communion of Saints, was thus wisely carried out.

"*Declaration on Kneeling*" *restored.*

The "Black Rubric" was also restored, the words "real and essential presence" being changed to "corporal presence." This has given rise to much discussion, but the rubric is perfectly plain in stating that the act of kneeling implies no adoration of the material elements, nor "*any corporal* presence" of our Lord.

Around one small addition endless discussion has arisen. In the Prayer for the Church

the word "oblations" was added to "alms," and as a rubric ordering the bread and wine to be placed on the Holy Table was inserted at the same time, it is thought by some to imply the offering of bread and wine for Sacramental use.

But at the same date another rubric was also added, directing the collection of "alms for the poor and *other devotions of the people*"; and it is certainly most probable that it is to this rubric that the words "alms" and "oblations" refer. The "oblations" are the "other devotions of the people,"—that is, all offerings not for the use of God's poor. We need not, however, condemn those who include the bread and wine among the "other devotions."

There were also several changes in the rubrics. The manual acts at Consecration were restored, having been omitted since 1552. Other new rubrics directed the Consecration of additional bread and wine if required, the covering of the remaining elements with a fair linen cloth after Communion, and their reverent consumption in the church immediately the service is ended. This last direction served to prevent irreverence on the one side, and

superstition on the other. It has recently (1900) been held by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York to forbid "Reservation."

The Authorised Version was now used for the Epistles and Gospels. The Commandments, Comfortable Words, and Offertory Sentences, are still used in an older version.

Service for Baptism of Adults, 1662.

The new service for Adult Baptism, named in the Preface, has already been noted. Two "Declarations," similar to that on Kneeling ("Black Rubric"), were now added to the service of Public Baptism of Infants. One of them declares the Salvation of Baptized Infants, who die before committing actual sin, and the other is a reference to Canon XXX. for an explanation of the sign of the cross, which was objected to by the Presbyterians.

The Confirmation Service of 1662.

The important change in this Office was the separation of the Catechism, and in place of it the insertion of the present short and solemn question by the Bishop, with the simple reply, "*I do.*" Moreover, the present address now

took its more useful shape, having previously been in the form of a rubric.

Communion at Marriage no longer compulsory, 1662.

Holy Communion was compulsory before this last revision, having been continued from the old "Nuptial Mass." It is now stated to be "convenient" (*i.e.* fitting) to receive it at the time of marriage, or soon after.

Burial Service rearranged.

The Burial Service was considerably rearranged, but nothing of great importance arises here. One slight change greatly relieves the difficulty of using this service where we fear the person has died impenitent. In the Commendation the little word "*the*" was added before "Resurrection to eternal life." We do not commend our brother's body to the ground "in sure and certain hope" that *he* will rise to eternal life; but that "*the* Resurrection to eternal life" will surely come, in which we hope that he will share,—"as our hope is this our brother doth." This was to meet one of the Puritan objections.

Prayers for those at Sea.

The addition of this most appropriate service in our National Liturgy has come before us in the Preface (p. 99).

Doxology added to the Lord's Prayer.

One other addition of singular beauty was made at this date. Our revisers followed the Scotch Prayer-Book in adding to the Lord's Prayer the Doxology found in the Received Text of St. Matthew, in five places. It is always added when the dominant note is one of thanksgiving. Such places are after hearing the Absolution at Morning and Evening Prayer, after receiving the Holy Communion, at the thanksgiving of women after childbirth, and, with startling fitness, after the storm-tossed sailors' cry for mercy in the midst of a tempest. The cry for mercy prompts at once the note of praise!

Conclusion.

We have now completed our answer to the inquiry as to how we got our Prayer-Book. The quarries have been visited which supplied the material for building, and we have seen

how varied they are. Five stages in the work have been noted, and we have watched stone after stone built into the fabric. In some cases there has been pulling down as well as building up, and again we have seen some stones replaced which had been for a time removed, but there has been no sign of undoing the great work of the first Reformers. The truths for which Cranmer and Ridley, Latimer and Hooper, laid down their lives remain untouched, and the subsequent changes have only regulated and enriched what they secured.

The great Churchmen of the reigns of Elizabeth, James the First, Charles the First, and Charles the Second, were, as a whole, true to the Protestant settlement, and had no desire to depreciate or to go behind its conclusions. That has been left to a school of more recent origin. If we compare the language of men like Hooker and Jewel, Andrewes and Jeremy Taylor, Sanderson, Cosin, and Sancroft, with that of some writers of the nineteenth century, we shall be surprised at the contrast in tone and attitude toward the Reformation.

The history of the Book of Common Prayer is one of the best answers to these new doc-

trines of the reactionary school. The history of the several revisions, the repeated refusals to go back on the main results of 1552, the plain-speaking as to the Church of Rome, and as to our fellowship with the foreign Protestant churches, by leading churchmen in the seventeenth century,—these are historical facts which compel us to refuse to hear in the voice of the extreme ritualistic school the true voice of the Church of England.

It is said that the Prayer-Book of 1552 was the result of foreign influence, and not a genuine product of English thought. We may answer that all the cardinal spiritual truths asserted at that revision were really present in the Prayer-Book of 1549, though there were in the earlier book fewer safeguards against error, and some traces of mediæval teaching. And while Bucer and Martyr, Pollanus and A'Lasko had their influence (we thankfully acknowledge it), yet a more potent influence was the attitude of Gardiner, and his attempt to prove the first Prayer-Book to be "patient" of Romish doctrine.

It is said again that the Prayer-Book of 1552 had but a brief existence. This objection is

wholly beside the mark. We have seen that in practical effect it is not correct to say so, for that Prayer-Book was in all main respects accepted in 1559, confirmed in 1604, and finally recognised in 1662 as the Book of Common Prayer for England.

And let us not forget the spiritual aspect of this study. The history of our Prayer-Book clearly vindicates the cause of spiritual liberty. That book is the expression of hearts whom 'the truth" had made free.

It frankly proclaimed man's rights to an open Bible. Men were now free to read God's word for themselves, and to find in it the ultimate authority in religion, the final Court of Appeal. That is to be free indeed.

It pointed out the way of direct access to God through Christ. It did so by removing the barriers by which the Romish Confessional had obstructed that way, and by proclaiming God's "pardon and absolution" to all those who "truly repent, and unfeignedly believe His Holy Gospel." No other condition is named. Men are, it is true, invited under peculiar circumstances to "open their grief" or to "make a special confession of sins" to a minister, but the *certainty* of pardon, the *assurance* of reconcilia-

tion is for all who simply come to God through Jesus. This again is to be free indeed.

It delivered England from the terrors of Purgatory. Henceforward the dead in Christ were to be regarded as "in joy and felicity," and our prayers are now directed not to their deliverance from purgatorial pains, nor even to their present rest and peace, but to that "perfect consummation and bliss both in body and soul," in which we trust that we with them shall share. Here, once more, was a much needed liberty.

Not least, it restored to the people the full enjoyment of the Sacrament of Holy Communion. The "cup of blessing," the seal of "the covenant in Christ's Blood," so long withheld, was now open to all alike. Non-communicating attendance, from the first discouraged, had in 1662 wholly died out, and attendance at Mass had become reception of the Holy Communion. We are now invited to "*the often receiving* of the Holy Communion,"[1] and this priceless liberty of access, at all times, to the Lord's Table is one of the most characteristic features of our English Reformation.

And yet all this was effected on conservative

[1] Rubric before "The Communion of the Sick."

lines. We still use the forms, we still follow the order, which has been consecrated by the use of Christians from the earliest ages. Our Prayer-Book is the result of the care and thought of many minds; it has treasured up for us the devotional forms of widely differing centuries and lands. The influences which helped to mould our services have been most varied, and sometimes conflicting, but in all the "good hand of our God" has been upon them, and our study leads us to understand once more that "God fulfils Himself in many ways."

But we must draw to a close. We commend the historical study of our Prayer-Book to every intelligent Churchman. We urge it especially on those who look to the Reformation as one of the greatest blessings that God has ever given to England. The matter will bear looking into. Nothing can prove more conclusively the Protestant character of the Church of England than the study of her services in the plain dry light of history.

Let us not be afraid to be true to our Prayer-Book. Doubtless some parts present difficulties, but viewed in the light of its past, most of these difficulties disappear. The marvel is that a

book so old, and so often assailed, has stood its ground so firmly, and still speaks so expressively the devotional thoughts of Englishmen. Let Churchmen of all shades be faithful to the Prayer-Book, and we may easily "defy all our enemies."

If only the sons and daughters of our church are found living lives true to the spiritual principles of Scripture as unfolded in our Prayer-Book, not only will the Church of England be found a great deal stronger than some folks wish her to be, not only will she continue to be the great bulwark of Protestantism in Europe, and an increasing blessing to our own land, but she will be stronger to carry the Gospel to other lands, to win back the whole world for Christ, and to hasten the coming of the kingdom of God.

ADDITIONAL NOTE

The following dates are of interest in the subsequent history of the Book of Common Prayer.

1689. On the accession of William and Mary a Commission was appointed to make such changes as might reconcile the Nonconformists. Bishops Tillotson and Stillingfleet were among those who made the attempt, but the temper of the Lower House of Convocation rendered it hopeless.

1764. The Scotch Communion Office was issued in its present form. It runs very closely parallel to that of 1549, and contains a very strongly worded "Invocation of the Holy Ghost" upon the Elements.

1789. The Prayer-Book of the American Church. Having received Episcopal Orders, first from Scotland by the Consecration of Bishop Seabury in 1785, it is not surprising that in some points the American Church followed the Scotch Liturgy. It has many variations from our Prayer-Book.

1859. The printing of the forms of Prayer for November 5, January 30, May 29, was discontinued. They never formed part of the true contents of our Prayer-Book, but were sanctioned by Acts of Parliament.

1871. The Revised *Lectionary* compulsory (optional at first).

1872. The Act for the Amendment of the Act of Uniformity. This allowed shortened forms of Service on week-days and additional services on Sundays.

1877. The Irish Prayer-Book.

1880. An Act was passed amending the Burial Laws, and giving Dissenters new privileges in Churchyards.

1886. The hours of Marriage were extended by Act of Parliament.

TABLE I

COMPARATIVE TABLES OF CHANGES FROM 1549–1662

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PRAYER-BOOK OF 1549

Morning and Evening Prayer—

1. Service began with the Lord's Prayer, and ended with the Third Collect.
2. The *Jubilate*, *Cantate*, and *Deus Misereatur* were not used.
3. The Athanasian Creed, when used, did not displace the Apostles' Creed.

The Litany—

1. Contained a clause for deliverance from the Pope.
2. Was used only on Wednesdays and Fridays.
3. Stood after the Communion Office.

Holy Communion—

1. There was no Decalogue with Responses.
2. The *Gloria in Excelsis* stood at the beginning of the service.
3. The old order of the *Canon* was retained as in the *Missal*.
4. The *Canon* contained "Invocation," "Memorial," and Prayers for the Dead.
5. The first part only of the present Words of Administration was used.
6. The *Agnus Dei* was ordered "at Communion time."
7. A rubric prescribed special Eucharistic vestments.
8. "Auricular and secret confession" still named.

Holy Baptism—

1. The service held partly at the Church Door.
2. The use of Exorcism, Chrism, and the Chrisom (white robe) continued.
3. There was a separate service for consecrating the water.
4. Trine immersion or sprinkling was directed.

Confirmation—

1. The Catechism formed part of the service, and no special question and answer were supplied.
2. The Catechism ended at the Explanation of the Lord's Prayer.
3. The sign of the Cross was used, as at Baptism.
4. The primitive "Laying on of hands" was restored.

Marriage—

Holy Communion must be received by the newly-married persons.

Visitation—

1. The Absolution was directed for use "at all private confessions."
2. Extreme Unction was retained.
3. Reservation of the Elements at Communion allowed.

Burial Service—

1. Prayers for the Dead were continued.
2. The soul was commended to God as well as the body committed to the ground.
3. The Holy Communion was always celebrated.

TABLE II

CHANGES IN 1552

Morning and Evening Prayer—

1. Ornaments' Rubric added. Vestments much reduced.
2. Sentences, &c., added before the Lord's Prayer.
3. *Jubilate*, *Cantate*, *Deus Misereatur* added.

Litany—

1. Prayers for rain, fair weather, &c., added at the end.
2. To be said on Sundays.
3. Placed as now after Athanasian Creed.

Holy Communion—

1. Decalogue and Responses added.
2. *Gloria in Excelsis* removed to the close.
3. The *Canon* broken up into three prayers—
   (*a*) Church Militant Prayer.
   (*b*) Consecration Prayer.
   (*c*) First Thanksgiving Prayer.
4. *Sursum Corda* and Lord's Prayer placed as now.
5. The second part only of Words of Administration used.
6. "Invocation," "Memorial," *Agnus Dei* omitted.
7. All mention of the Faithful Dead omitted.
8. Private Confession more guardedly named.
9. The "Black Rubric" added.

Holy Baptism—

1. Exorcism, Chrism, Chrisom, omitted.
2. No separate service of consecration.
3. Trine immersion not named.

Confirmation—

Sign of the Cross omitted.

The present words "Defend, O Lord, &c.," replaced an earlier form referring to the sign of the Cross.

Visitation—

1. The Absolution no longer directed at Private Confessions
2. Extreme Unction omitted.
3. Reservation of Elements no longer named.

Burial Service—

1. Prayers for the Dead omitted (hence no Versicles after Lord's Prayer).
2. Holy Communion omitted.

Ordinal—

Various ceremonies continued in 1550 were omitted; *e.g.*, the delivery of the Vessels for Communion, the placing of the Stole, and the delivery of a Pastoral Staff to a Bishop.

TABLE III

CHANGES IN 1559

Morning and Evening Prayer—

Ornaments Rubric directed vestments of the second year of Edward VI.

(Modified by "Advertisements," and Canons of 1604.)

Litany—

1. Prayer for the Queen and "The Grace" added at the end.
2. Prayer for deliverance from the Pope omitted.

Holy Communion—

1. First and second clauses of the Words of Administration now combined.
2. The "Black Rubric" omitted.

TABLE IV

CHANGES IN 1604

Morning and Evening Prayer—
"Or Remission of sins" added to explain "Absolution."

Litany—
1. The Prayers for the Royal Family were added.
2. Most of the Thanksgivings were added.

Holy Baptism—
Lay Baptism no longer sanctioned.

Confirmation—
The second part (on the Sacraments) added to the Catechism.

TABLE V

CHANGES IN 1662

Morning and Evening Prayer—

1. "Priest" for "Minister" in rubric before Absolution.
2. The Lord's Prayer to be always said by the people with the Minister.
3. The prayers after the Third Collect added from the Litany.

Litany—

1. "Rebellion" and "Schism" added.
2. "Bishops, Priests, and Deacons," substituted for "Bishops, Pastors, and Ministers."
3. The following occasional prayers were added—
   - Ember Collects.
   - Prayer for Parliament.
   - Prayer for all sorts and conditions of men.
   - General Thanksgiving.
   - Thanksgiving for restoration of peace at home.

Communion Office—

1. Thanksgiving for the faithful dead restored.
2. "Oblations" added in the Prayer for the Church.
3. The "Black Rubric" restored.
4. Rubrics added, directing—
   - Bread and Wine to be placed on the Table.
   - The Manual acts at Consecration.
   - The Consecration of additional Bread and Wine.
   - The reverent consumption of the remaining elements.

Holy Baptism—

1. Service for adults added.
2. "Declarations" as to baptized infants, and the sign of the Cross added.

Confirmation—

1. The Catechism separated from the service, and the present question and answer added.
2. The Address added from an old rubric.

Marriage—

Holy Communion no longer compulsory.

General—

1. The Authorised Version used, except in the Psalter and parts of the Communion Office.
2. The Doxology added in five places to the Lord's Prayer.

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